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THE PANJAB PAST AND PRESENT

Vol. XXXIV, Part-II

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STONE AGE EXISTED TILL LATE MID-HOLOCENE TIMES IN THE NW INDIAN SUB-HIMALAYAS

*Anujot Singh Soni**

The Northwestern sub-Himalayas in this sub-continent have till recently been known for some stages of Early to Late Soan stone-artefacts. Most of the later workers¹⁻³ followed this approach in the Indian part of the sub-Himalayas, until some new observations were recently made about earlier descriptions of the Soanian industries⁴⁻⁸. No large lithic assemblage datable from early to late Pleistocene has ever been found in any secure geological context. The Early Soan as assigned to Mode-1 does not find proper definition and the artefacts smaller than 8 cm or so are considered to be of late/evolved Soan types sans chronological evidence. The dates assigned to 'Late-Soan' assemblages from Sirsa valley were as yet based on de-Terra & Paterson's glacial chronology^{9,10} but it may be noted that almost all those terraces have now been dated to 20ka or 16 ka BP¹¹ and new finds of lithic-ceramic assemblages by Soni et. al. from terraces dated up to 4.5ka may render the earlier findings of G. C. Mohapatra and his students to be very

* Assistant Professor, University College, Dhilwan (Barnala).

1. Karir, B.S., *Geomorphology and Stone-Age Culture of North Western India*, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1985.
2. Mohapatra, G.C., and Singh Mukesh, *Prehistoric Investigations in a sub-Himalayan valley India, Current Anthropology*, 1979, 20: 600-602.
3. Singh, M., Karir, B.S. and Chopra, S.N., *Prehistoric and Quarternary Studies of the Roopnagar District of Punjab*. Dept. of Cultural Affairs, Archaeology & Museums, Chandigarh, 1998.
4. Rendell, H.M., Dennell, R.W & Halim, M.A., *British Archaeological Reports, BAR. Int. Series* 544. Oxford, 1989, 202-204.
5. Corvinus, G., 'Lower Palaeolithic occupations in Nepal in relation to South Asia', In M.D. Petraglia and R. Korisettar (Eds.), *Early Human Behaviour in Global Context*, One world Archaeology, New York, 1998, pp. 390-417.
6. Soni, A.S. and Soni, V.S., *A flake-rich assemblage in buried state and in primary context in the NW sub-Himalayas*, *Curr. Sc.* 96, 2009, 1130-1133.
7. Soni V.S. and Soni, A.S., Large size cleaver-like flakes and Hoabinhoid elements from terminal Pleistocene to mid-Holocene epoch sites, *Quaternary International*. 223-224, 2010, 242-244.
8. Soni, Anujot Singh., Soni, Vidwan Singh and Dhillon, D.S., Large assemblages of flakes & cores found on dated young terraces of River Satluj and its tributaries. *Curr. Sc.* 94, 2008, 577-580.
9. Karir, *op. cit.*
10. Mohapatra & Singh, *op.cit.*
11. Suresh, N., T. N. Bagati, V. C. Thakur, R., Kumar and S. J. Sangode, Optically stimulated luminescence dating of alluvial fan deposits of Pinjaur Dun, NW sub-Himalayas, *Current Science* 82, 2002, 1267-1274.

young. Actually there were meager and sometimes selective surface collections made by the earlier workers in this region that were unable to clear the confusions prevailing since the time of de-Terra & Paterson¹² who had first named such tools as 'Soanian', and so the sub-Himalayan lithic industries were not properly addressed. Some huge assemblages have been for the first time reported in recent years from dated surfaces in Himachal & Punjab Siwaliks by the present authors which deem to make us re-think about the prevalent views on the sub-Himalayan stone-age. The material obtained from a limited excavation carried out by our team and that collected by us from numerous nearby open air sites, belongs to the typo-technological complexes having a very narrow temporal separation. Our assemblages contain many new tool-types in addition to those that are already known from Early to Late Soan lithic industries, and most of our finds appear to have been fabricated just during Holocene. A few sites were recently reported as existing on very young river terrace surfaces, dated by OSL method up to as late as 6.25 ka BP¹³. Many site complexes with large lithic concentrations situated close to the outskirts of the Himachal Pradesh Siwaliks were also discovered by us from the young lowest cusp terraces of streams apparently laid down during Holocene. From a site named 'Jandori-6' (fig.1), a few thousand stone artefacts associated with numerous potsherds of plain wheel-made pottery were excavated which predominantly yielded small to very large-size flakes along with a few choppers and other core-tools as well as edge-ground elements (see figs.4) found for the first time in this sub-continent¹⁴. Edge-ground flakes/cores and a good number of specimens resembling Sonvian¹⁵ and Hoabinhoid artefacts were found in surface context also¹⁶ from many other nearby sites in the region. This reminds us of South-East Asian lithic industries; since elements belonging to Hoabinhian techno-complex such as numerous peripherally and unifacially retouched, oval to rectangular through triangular specimens¹⁷ but associated with pottery, have been found by us from Holocene epoch sites¹⁸. This is a new evidence of the possible influence of some lithic industries from South-East Asia through Nepal^{19,20}. It has usually been claimed by some that flakes in this region result from the shaping of core-tools and the large flakes are usually absent in the Soanian assemblages^{21,22}.

12. de-Terra, H and Paterson, T.T., *Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures*, Carnegie Institute Publication, Washington, 1939, p. 493.
13. Soni et. al, 2008, *op. cit.* 14; Soni & Soni, 2009, *op. cit.*
15. Hà Van Tan, The Hoabinhian and before, *Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association*, 16, 1997, 35-41.
16. Soni & Soni 2009, *op. cit.*, 17; Bellwood, *Prehistory of Indo-Malaysian Archipelago*, The Australian University Press, Canberra, 2007, pp 185-200. 18. Soni & Soni, 2009, *op. cit.*, 19; Corvinus, *op. cit.* 20, Bellwood, *op. cit.*
21. Mohapatra, G.C., Lithic cultures of the sub-Himalayas. In: In A.R. Sankhyani & V. R. Rao (Eds.), *Human Origins, Genome & People of India*, Allied Publishers, Delhi, 2007, pp.138-143.
22. Gaillard, C., Singh, M. and Rishi, K.K., Technological Analysis of the Acheulian assemblage from Atbarpur in the Siwalik Range (Hoshiarpur district, Punjab), *Man and Environment*, 33 (2), 2008, 1-14.

Our investigations show that flakes and flake-tools are rather found in quite large numbers in some very rich assemblage sites dated to mid-Holocene and some suspected to be belonging to terminal Pleistocene (exact age bracket yet to be determined).

These and many other sites in a region of 15x 30 Km² sub-rectangular region searched by us have yielded a big collection of more than twelve thousand stone artefacts from two dozen rich assemblage sites/site-complexes including some very interesting specimens never known in the earlier collections from the sub-Himalayas. Here we discuss some new finds from one excavated site Jandori-6 and briefly describe some others where tools resembling the Soanian were in use up to late mid-Holocene times. Though earlier 7 decade long research could not find any such thing, our new discoveries may arouse a need to scientifically place these finds in the till now known sub-Himalayan lithic techno complex.

After making a huge collection of some two thousand stone artefacts in surface context from a nearly 150m² area of a site Jandori-6 in Himachal Pradesh (figs.1, 2), a limited excavation was conducted at the site²³. Some 3500 lithic specimens with a lot of weathered potsherds were recovered from a small trial trench of 1.5m² surface area and nearly 1.8m non-uniform depth. The site exists in middle Siwaliks and the raw material of quartzite cobbles are not found near the site and could have been transported by the hominines from a distance of 3 Km or so. The presence of edge-ground artefacts throughout the depth of the trial trench and on the small surface area around it, suggests that this assemblage belongs to a single unified industry. More than 95% of the assemblage consists of detached pieces with debitage and flakes in the size range 0.5 to 14.2 cm, while there were only 26 choppers and a few cores and core-fragments (Soni & Soni, 2009). Weathered potsherds of plain wheel made pottery having size up to 12cm were found mixed with the lithic specimens throughout the depth of the trench. In the total assemblage of 5606 lithic specimens from Jandori-6, there were nearly 13% (n=727) edge-ground pieces of size up to 13cm. Among the total lithic specimens having a gloss on their edges (fig.4), only 2.15% are cores and core-tools while the rest are flakes or small pieces of debitage. There are 2 unifacial end-choppers with gloss on parts of their working edge, a unifacial discoid with edge-grinding (fig.3c,e), ground-edged triangular wedges and chisel-like specimens with distal or lateral edges ground. By representing the flakes in Toth types²⁴ we find that type-2 flakes are having a maximum strength. Many small shatter pieces also show edge-grinding as if edge-ground utilized flakes were further re-worked. Flake tools are also there such as points, burins, borers etc., which show wholly or partly ground edges (fig.4). The edge-ground adzes and other core-tools have been reported in Bacsonian industries of Southeast Asia as a later phase of

23. Soni & Soni, 2009, *op. cit.*

24. Toth, N. The Oldwan Reassessed: A close look at Early Stone Artifacts, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 12, 101-20 (1985).

Hoabinhians which prevailed up to 1000 BC or so^{25, 26}, but edge-ground flakes of late-Holocene times have now also been reported from the region around Philippines²⁷. In the assemblage from Jandori-6, there are a few unifacials which are oval through circular to rectangular in shape and they along with edge-ground specimens certify to the above mentioned Hoabinhoid influence on this industry. Some medium to large size cleaving-tools (not Acheulean cleavers) are also present in Jandori assemblage which are unifacially as well as bifacially worked and in some cases, the cleaver-bits are also smoothly ground. Among the potsherds, Harappan pottery was also identified and there is a great possibility that the post-urban (late) Harappans might have returned to stone-age because of paucity of metal-tools caused by mid-Holocene global aridity and subsequent demise of the Harappan civilization²⁸. The Harappans and other contemporary Chalcolithic populations could have converged to Siwaliks for search of water and joined some stone-age communities already existing hereabout.

We have found five more sites in the whole region and two site complexes containing up to 10 spots each in an area of half kilometer square or so, which have generated more than two thousand stone artefacts containing lots of edge-ground specimens, Hobinhoid elements, chopper/chopping tools and potsherds even of Late Harappan types exhumed from the upper thin soil layers deposited on middle-Siwalik surfaces, lowest stream terraces, and interfluvial surfaces; the presence of edge-ground flakes (as also found in Jandori-6) certify to their mid to late mid-Holocene age, and so the ceramics found along with are contemporaneous with the lithic assemblages.*

Large flakes and cleaving-tools have been found in good numbers from the lowest Nangal terrace [respectively dated to 4.5 ka and 6.25 ka BP²⁹ along with cutting tools possessing lateral cutting edges and some large discoidal and nosed cores and pitted cobbles (fig.5) found for the first time in Indian sub-Continent] which have also been found from several other sites in this region. Harappan potsherds and B&R Ware are also found spread over here and there.

We found several Soanian type stone tools from the known late-Harappan site Bara as well as from Late-Harappan site Dhermajra (dist. Ropar) which were never known earlier.

Since till date no exclusive Early-Soan assemblage in datable context could be discovered and the initiation of Late Soan is unknown, the prehistorians are still uncertain about their definitions and time brackets of their existence. Finding

25. Marwick, B., Approach to Flaked Stone Artefact Archaeology in Thailand: A Historical Review, *Silpakorn University International Journal*. 7: 2007, 49-88.

26. Bellwood, *op.cit.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. Staubwasser, M., and Weiss, H. Holocene climate and cultural evolution in the late prehistoric-early historic West Asia, *Quaternary Research* 66, 2006, 372-387.

* Hoabinhian tools contain centripetally/peripherally flaked unifacial tools.

29. Soni, A.S. and Soni, V.S. *Bulletin of Indo Pacific Prehistory Association*, 32, 2012: 6-18. New observations on the age and context of Soanian artefacts in the NW sub-Himalayas of India.

of all the Early to late Soan tool-types from terminal Pleistocene to late mid-Holocene sites (though in varying intensities) along with new interesting lithic specimens associated with ceramics, calls for a complete reconsideration of the sub-Himalayan lithic industries in the Northwestern sub-Himalayas. It may be said that vast lithic spreads of stone artefacts, found at many places with potsherds, are indicative of increase of stone-age human populations herein after the end of last ice-age, and it is very much likely that many previously discovered sites were just the activity places of hominines during terminal Pleistocene to late mid-Holocene times.*

Fig.1

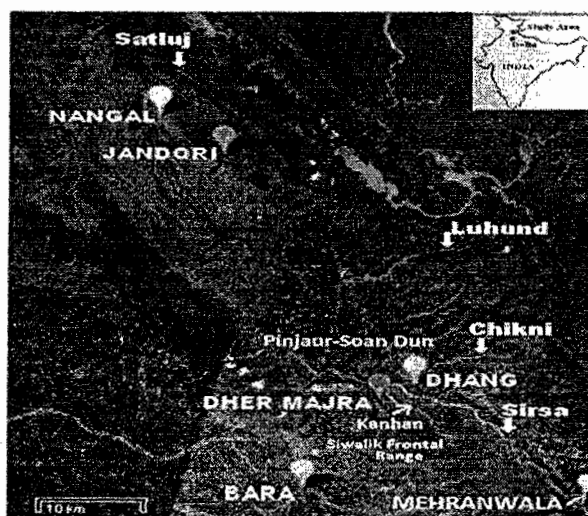


Fig.1 Area map showing Nangal, Barmala, Goalthai, Nagethakur and Jandori sites.

Fig.2

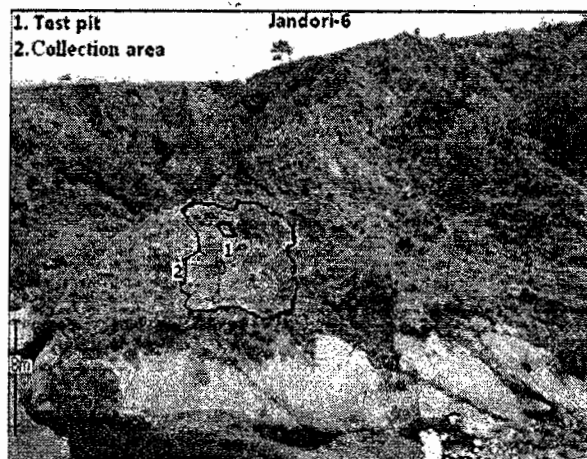


Fig.2 Collection area of site Jandori-6 showing also the trial trench

* De-Terra & Paterson had classified stone tools only on the basis of typology and no chronology was scientifically discussed which is disproved by our findings.

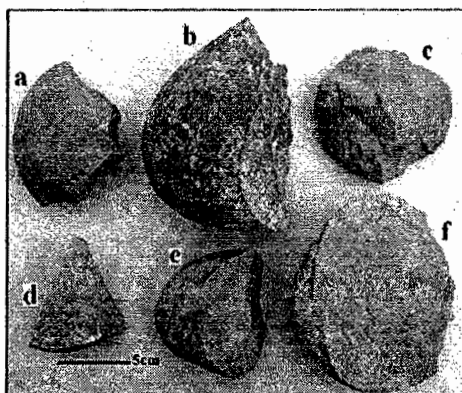


Fig.3

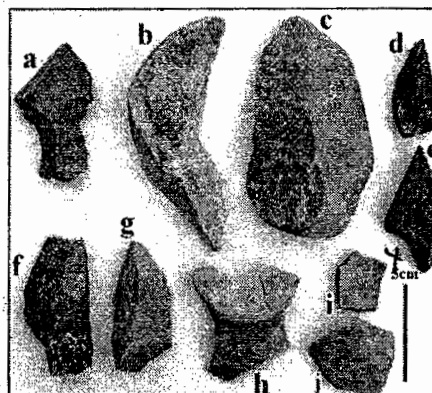


Fig.4

Fig.3 Jandori-6 stone tools: (a) Toth type-1 flake with truncated convex edge. (b, e) Choppers. (c) Unifacial discoid. (d) Stone-punch with cortical head. (f) End scraper on Type-1 flake. Specimens (c) and (e) are partly edge-ground.

Fig.4. Edge-ground tools and potsherds from Jd-6. (a) Arrowhead with a ground straight edge. (b) Borer on a type-2 flake. (c) Type-2 blade flake. (d) Burin on type-6 flake. (e) Borer with tang having a straight ground edge. (f) Backed knife with tang and ground working edge. (g) Sub-triangular blade on a type-3 flake. (h, i, j) Potsherds from excavation.

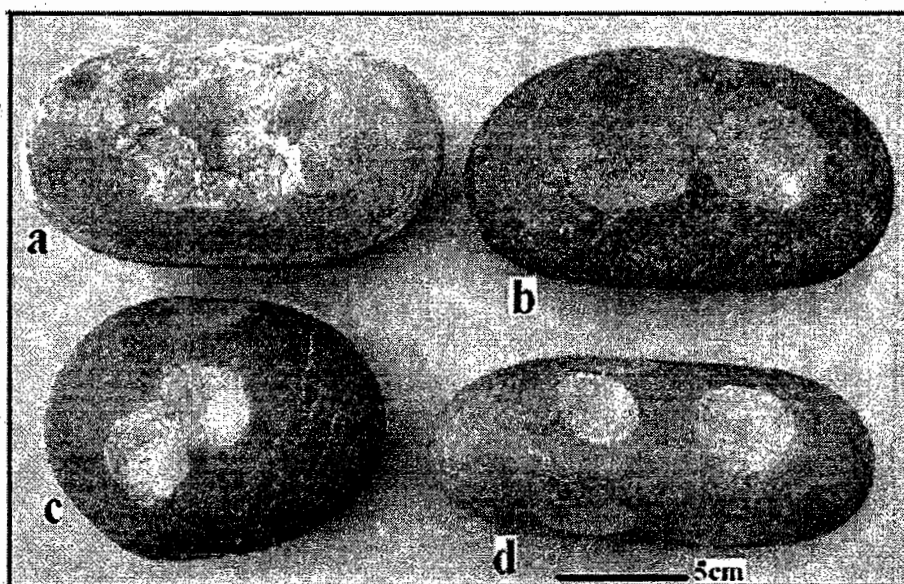


Fig.5

Fig.5 Pitted-cobbles with pits on both faces, lateral and distal edges; (a) from Goalthai, (b) from Nangethakur and (c, d) from Nangal sites.

URBAN PLANNING IN HARAPPAN PERIOD: RECENT REFLECTIONS

Renu Thakur*

Two distinct phases of urbanization in early India have been demarcated prior to the early medieval period. The first phase is represented by the cities of Harappan culture.¹ The earliest cities of Harappan civilization were Harappa situated in Sahiwal district of Punjab in Pakistan and Mohenjodaro was situated in Larkana district of Sindh.² Later many more Harappan cities were identified and excavated. However the major part of the Indian subcontinent remained unaffected by the Harappan urbanization. The second phase of urbanization has been dated around sixth century BC.³ This phase of urbanization reveals internal growth and horizontal expansion. The epicenter of the second urban phase was in the Ganges valley. This phase was spread over a long period from the middle of the first millennium BC to AD 300.⁴ However for the peninsular India this phase represents the first phase of urbanization as it remained unaffected by the early urbanism.⁵

The present paper seeks to examine some aspects of town planning of Harappan period. Gordon Childe identified ten important criteria which are important to designate any city. These include monumental buildings, large in size, dense population, the existence of non-food producing classes, the cultivation of art, science and writing. Gordon Childe laid emphasis on the role of surplus which supports non-food producing community. The criteria presented by Childe were not universally accepted.⁶ The city cannot be merely identified by the size and population but the quality of material life and nature of settlement is equally important. The Harappan civilization covered large area and exhibited excellent town planning. The monumental architecture in the form of great bath, granaries,

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1. B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *The Making of Early Medieval India*, Oxford University Press, 1997, Ch., VII.
2. R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanisation: South India 300 BC to AD 1300*, Oxford University Press, 1996, See Introduction.
3. V. G. Childe, "The Urban Revolution", in *Ancient Cities of Indus*, ed., G. L. Possehl, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1979, pp. 12-17.
4. Robert McAdams, "The Natural History of Urbanism", *Ibid.*, pp. 18-26; A. Ghosh, *The City in Early Historical India*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, 1973; Gideon Sjoberg, *The Preindustrial city of Past and Present*, Illinois, Glencoe, 1960.
5. D. P. Agarwal, *The Indus Civilization: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2007, Ch.V.
6. B. B. Lal, *India 1947-1997: Newlight on the Indus Civilization*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi; B.B.Lal, et.al., eds., *Kalibangan, Archaeological Survey of India*, New Delhi, 2003.

houses and the dockyard was the special feature of these settlements. The Harappans knew how to write and practiced various arts and crafts.

The Harappan cities had two essential components—the citadel or acropolis and the lower town. In some cases the Harappan cities had middle town also. The citadel and lower town were fortified by thick walls. Mohenjodaro had citadel in the west and was separated from the lower town on the eastern side. There is a gap between the two. At Harappa also citadel was located in the western part of the town but the northern part of the town was equally important having granaries and husking floors and in the eastern side was located the lower town. The careful perusal of excavation reports suggests that most of the town plans were different from one another. Banawali, Dholavira, and Lothal all had distinct plans. At Banawali the citadel lies in the south west part of the mound, at Lothal it lies in the south east and at Dholavira to east or south east.⁷

Kalibangan resemble Mohenjodaro in plan but overall area covered by the site is much less than that of Mohenjodaro. The lower town at Kalibangan is fortified which is not the case in Mohenjodaro. The citadel at Kalibangan is divided into two equal rhombs; the northern rhomb has residential houses whereas houses are missing in southern rhomb. Banawali in Hissar district of Haryana yielded a single fortified area. On seeing the fortification, a moat around the rampart was also identified by the excavator.⁸ Similarly Dholavira has not only yielded a unique town plan but also brought to light a remarkable system of water harvesting. The city had citadel, a middle town and a lower town. The citadel and middle town were two separate entities but had one common wall between them on the south however on the north, east and west they had their own fortification wall.⁹

Similarly the grid plan was not visible in all the mature Harappan cities. Only three sites Mohenjodaro, Kalibangan and Nausharo (Baluchistan) show the grid town planning. The use of baked bricks was also not uniform in all sites. At Mohenjodaro burnt bricks were extensively used whereas at Harappa both baked and unbaked bricks were used simultaneously in the same building. Similarly we find use of mud bricks at Ropar in Indian Punjab. It was an important flourishing Harappan town. At Dholavira and Surkotada stone was mainly used for constructing houses, walls and drains because of the abundance of stones in the area.¹⁰

The size of the bricks used was 1:2:4 as these were the best for producing English bond masonry. The lower town was the area meant for the common

7. Shreen Ratnagar, *Enquiries into the Political Organization of Harappan Society*, Ravish Publishers, Pune, 1991, Ch., IX.

8. R. S. Bisht, "Structural Remains and the Town Planning of Banawali", in *Frontiers of the Indus Civilization*, eds., B.B. Lal and S.P. Gupta, Books and Books, Delhi, 1984, pp. 89-97.

9. R. S. Bisht, "Urban Planning at Dholavira: A Harappan City", in *Ancient Cities, Sacred Skies: Cosmic Geometries and City Planning in Ancient India*, Aryan Books International, pp. 11-23.

10. J. P. Joshi, *Excavation at Surkotada, 1971-72 and Exploration in Kutch*, ASI, New Delhi, 1990; Y.D. Sharma, "Harappan Complex on the Satluj (India)", in G.L. Possehl ed., *Harappan civilization: A Contemporary Perspective*, Oxford, New Delhi, 1982, pp. 141-65.

people where they lived and worked. The single storied, double storied and triple storied houses were built by the Harappans. The average thickness of the walls of houses of those times was 70cm. At Banawali the excavator reported large number of houses with a central courtyard. The houses for the rich and the poor were built in the lower town, however no grid pattern is followed in the Banawali and streets ran in all directions. The houses had wooden doors and frames with sockets. In Mohenjodaro the only door which has survived shows corbelled arch. They are of various sizes. As there is no evidence of windows possibly the light and air admitted chiefly through the doorways.¹¹ Every house had its bathroom and latrine. The most remarkable feature of mature Harappan settlements was the elaborate drainage system. The bottom of drains was made of gypsum and lime plasters however the sides of drains were made of baked bricks. The open drains and covered drains both existed in the mature Harappan towns. The corbelled arch was used for the culverts.¹² Small cess pools and traps were built into the system of drainage so that solid matter gets accumulated in them and could be later removed. Wells were commonly found in mature Harappan cities. They were lined by the wedge shaped bricks. Some houses were provided with fire altars however special platforms for bathing were a unique feature of houses. In Mohenjodaro there were over seven hundred wells whereas at Harappa there were only thirty and at Dholavira very few wells were noticed,¹³ however there was provision to collect rain water in a stone lined cistern for this city.¹⁴ In the late Harappan period there was drastic change in the life style of people as reflected at various mature Harappan sites. The features like the monumental buildings, excellent drainage system, burnt bricks and mud bricks, are no longer seen. R. S. Bisht excavated the site of Dholavira and refers to the seven stages at Dholavira. Stage I to IV reveals the mature urban phase whereas the Stage V to VII shows the desertion of site. The use of colourful clay stopped in private and public buildings and urban components disappeared.¹⁵ Similarly period III at Banawali shows disappearance of town planning. No fortification was noticed and houses were made of mud bricks. The houses were circular in plan and later it became a rural settlement. The structures were built of robbed bricks.¹⁶ Some settlements like Kudwala in Cholistan, Beyt Dwarka off the coast of Gujarat and Daimbad in the Godavari basin didn't disappear completely. However none of these cities match the grandeur and monumentality of Dholavira or Mohenjodaro. There is in fact no

11. E. Mackay, *Early Indus Civilization*, Indological Book Corporation, New Delhi, 1976, pp. 27-29.

12. *Ibid.*

13. M. Jansen et.al., *Forgotten cities on the Indus: Early Civilizations in Pakistan from 8th to 2nd Millenium BCE*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1996.

14. R. S. Bisht, "Urban Planning at Dholavira: A Harappan City", in *Ancient Cities, Sacred Skies: Cosmic Geometries and City Planning in Ancient India*, Aryan Books International, 2000, pp. 11-23.

15. *Ibid.*

16. R. S. Bisht, "Structural Remains and the Town Planning of Banawali", pp. 89-97.

site that can be considered matching the mature urban settlements.¹⁷

B.B. Lal rightly remarked that, "use of kiln-fired bricks along with their standardization seems to have vanished with Harappan urbanism. Regular use of kiln-fired bricks reappeared only during the early historical times, but not only was the size different but also the Harappan standardization was also no more to be seen".¹⁸

17. Nayanjot Lahiri, ed., *The Decline and Fall of the Indus Civilization*, Permanent Black, New Delhi, 2000, p. 24.

18. B. B. Lal, *The Earliest Civilization of South Asia (Rise, Maturity and Decline)*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1997, p. 279.

PREVALENCE OF SAKT CULT IN SOUTH-EASTERN PART OF ANCIENT PUNJAB: A REAPPRAISAL

Rajpal*

The existence of the cult of Devi or Mother Goddess in one form or the other was in vogue in the region of south-eastern part of Ancient Punjab (Modern Haryana) from the earliest times. The Mahabharata and Vamanpurana speak of its prevalence in the Kurukshetra region, especially at Shimla village (Near Narwana), Sankhini village (Kaithal) and Kalasi tirtha. Bana informs that a temple of Mother Goddess existed on the bank of river Sarasvati at Thanesar in his time. The Sculpture of the Sakti cult scattered in the various places of south-eastern Ancient Punjab also attest the facts.

In Hindu religion, Devi occupies an important position among the five principal deities, symbolizing as she does, the universal energy, pure knowledge and absolute truth. The antiquity of female worship in India may be traced to the peasant culture of Baluchistan.¹ But more definite evidence of her worship comes from the terracotta figurines², seal amulets³ and ring, stones⁴ found at the Harappan sites. In the Vedic period, Devi enjoys a position of inferior to that of the great male gods and she is repeatedly referred to by various names. The female deities gained status in the later Vedic period in as much as they came to be represent the primary energy of Brahma with which he created the universe.⁵ By the times of Sutras a new development took place. The *Sankhayanasrautasutra* refers to Siva along with his consort known as Bhavani, Isani, Rudrani and Argeyi. By the time of *Baudhayana Grihyasutra*, the position of Rudra's consort is well established and she is worshipped like the god himself, and has several epithets, such as Durga, Arya, Bhagavati, Maha-Kali and Devasamkirti, in all her aspects, benign as well as malign. The perfect synthesis of these aspects is found in the Devi-Mahatmya section of the *Markandeya-Purana*. The Devi-Mahatmya stresses the cumulative energy of the numerous female deities to establish the supremacy of Devi. She combines aboriginal elements with the concept of Sakti and the hidden

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1. Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, p. 127.

2. E.J.H. Mackey, *Early Indus Civilization*, pp. 53-54.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

4. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization*, pp. 662-63.

5. *Sevatsvatara Upanishad*, IV. 1.

powers of the seven gods. She is worshipped later in her three emanations, auspicious, fierce and sensual by her devotees, including the Kapalikas, Kalamukhas and the Saktas.⁶ Thus Devi occupies an exalted position by the time of the Puranas, and she is conceived as the supreme deity, called sakti in saktism.⁷

The worship of the Mother goddess⁸ is a wide spread phenomenon. She is regarded as "The personification of primordial energy and the source of all divine as well as cosmic evolution."⁹ The evidence of the worship of mother goddess may have recovered not only from India but also from Baluchistan, Iran, Mesopotamia, Asia minor and Egypt, since earlier times.¹⁰

The evidence of the worship of mother goddess in south-eastern part of Ancient Punjab (Haryana) goes back at least up to the Harappan times. From the excavations of Banawali¹¹ we have found some terracotta female images, termed as 'Mother goddess' and this shows the belief of the people in Sakt Cult. Many references of the existence of Sakt Cult in this region are also mentioned in the *Mahabharata*. It is mentioned that a pilgrim, during his visit goes to Sritirtha and pays homage to the goddess.¹²

The availability of the icons of the mother goddess from south-eastern part of Ancient Punjab (Haryana) bears testimony to her worship in this region of the country.¹³ Bana also describe in his text *Harshacharita*, the existence of a temple and the worship of the mother Goddess in Thanesar.¹⁴ A Terracotta plaque from Sugh represents the deity standing among the rolling children. In this icon she is shown completely nude and having *hara* and ear ring as ornaments. Another terracotta plaque are related to Kusana period from the same place. In this terracotta image two matrikas are shown, both are, having child in their lap. They are also worn the necklace, ear-rings and *Mukuta*. A terracotta image recovered from the village Kansala¹⁵ (Distt. Rohtak) represents the Mother Goddess seated majestically on some objects and it is now lost. It seems that it was a hand made icon and a special piece of art.¹⁶ Such type of icons are also found from various sites like

6. R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism, Saivism and other minor religious systems*, p. 144.

7. S.B. Singh, *Brahmanical Icons in Northern India*, p. 147.

8. Sheela Devi, *Art traditions in Haryana (upto 1200 AD)*, Thesis submitted to Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra, 1978, p. 98.

9. N.N. Bhattacharya, *Indian Mother Goddess*, p.13.

10. P.K. Sharma, *Sakti Cult in Ancient India*, p.3.

11. Surajbhan, *Excavation at Mitathal (1968) and other explorations in the Sutlej-Yamuna Divide*, Report submitted to Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.

12. *Mahabharata*, Tirthayatra-parva, 81.37.

13. K.C. Yadav, 'Religion in Haryana from the Earliest Days to the Present times: An overview', *Journal of Haryana Studies*, Vol. XXI, 1989, p. 37.

14. *Harshacharita*, p. 102.

15. Sheela Devi, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

16. Silk Ram 'Archaeology of Rohtak and Hisar Districts (Haryana)', Ph.D. Thesis, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra, 1972, p. 229.

Kausambi,¹⁷ Mathura,¹⁸ Bhita, Basarh¹⁹ and Ahhichattrā.²⁰ From the various places of Haryana we have found the images of the Goddesses such as Parvati, the Goddess of wealth Lakshmi, Saraswati, Mahisasuramardini, Ganga, Yamuna and Saptamatikas viz. Varahi, Chamunda, Brahmani and Indrani.

Parvati – Numerous stone icons of Sakt cult have been recovered from the various sites of south-eastern part of Ancient Punjab (Haryana). An image of tapasvini Parvati is recovered from village Jaintipur (Ambala District) by Panjab University Chandigarh. The Goddess is standing in Sambhanga pose on a lotus pitha. The icon is datable to 10th Century A.D. The image is partly damaged and only the half lower portion is seen.²¹ Another icon of tapasvini Parvati was also recovered by Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology, Panjab University, Chandigarh from the village Morni. The icon is datable to 9th Century A.D. An image of Parvati is recovered from Kalka (Panchkula) and now housed in the Haryana state museum. She is standing in sambhanga mudra. The right front hand of the deity is broken, whereas in the remaining hands she is having lotus, bell or book and a ball shaped object. It might be a pot. The Goddess is decked with Jatabhara, torque, ekavali and ear pendants. The icon may be dated to C. 8th – 9th Century A.D.²² A sculpture piece of the Goddess Parvati is recovered from Bhimadevi temple Pinjore, District Panchkula. It is now displayed in the state museum of Haryana. In this image the Goddess is seen in sambhanga pose. She is having four arms (8th-9th Century A.D.). A bust of Goddess Parvati is collected from Jind by the Haryana state museum. The face of the deity is mutilated and the lower portion are also broken. The Goddess is decked with Jatamukuta, beaded necklace, ear-rings and beaded bracelets (10th – 11th Century A.D.). Similar type of bust of the Goddess is found from Agroha (District Hisar). The piece is now housed in the state museum Haryana. She is having a twig and lily flower in the left upper and lower hands. (9th – 10th Century A.D.). An Architectural piece from Pinjore²³ representing the Sukanasa, contains a charming head of Uma, the consort of Siva. In this image she is shown with crested beautiful head dress, a row of frizzled locks adorn her forehead and she also wears the Kundalas.²⁴

Lakshmi – When the ocean of Milk was churned for obtaining the ambrosials for the Gods, many other valuable things came out from that ocean. The Goddess of wealth Lakshmi who became afterwards the consort of Vishnu came out from that ocean. The Goddess Lakshmi is one of the most popular in Hindus, the Buddhists

17. S.C. Kala, *Terracotta Figurines from Kausambi*, p. 7.

18. V.S. Aggarwala, 'Mathura Terracotta's', *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, Vol. IX, p. 45.

19. A.K. Coomaraswamy, 'Archaic Indian Terracottas' p. 70.

20. V.S. Aggarwala, 'Ahhichattrā Terracotta's', *Ancient India*, Vol. IX, p. 42.

21. Devendra Harda, 'Art Remains from Jaintipur', Article Published in Haryana Sahitya Akadami Journal, *Indological Studies*, 1988, Chandigarh, p. 279.

22. Chanderpaul Singh, *Early Medieval Art of Haryana – A Study*, pp. 106-07.

23. U.V. Singh, *Pinjore Sculptures*, 1977, p. 25-26.

24. T.S. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, part II, p. 373.

and the Jaina alike. She is considered to be Goddess of beauty, fortune and fertility. It is, therefore, but natural that persons desirous of attaining material prosperity should have worshipped her. The special worship is enjoined in her honour in the last night of the dark half of the month of *Karttika* every year when the festival of light is celebrated all over the country.²⁵ The following lines are given about Lakshmi in Rigveda²⁶ -

ता नश्चोदयत श्रिये ।

"Excite inspire as for the increase of well being"

From Sugh the moulded plaques of Goddess Lakshmi are recovered. Unfortunately the image is damaged and only the lower portion of the icon are seen. The Goddess is shown wearing *nupuras*. A Gaja-Lakshmi image recovered from Jyantipur (District Ambala) and now is enshrined in the Jaintipur temple. It measure 80x48 cm.²⁷ In this icon the Goddess is seated in Lalitasana with right leg tucked up and the left one dangling downwards. The lion is also depicted as vehicle of the Goddess. On stylistic grounds, the icon may be datable to the 9th Century A.D.

An Architectural panel probably a door lintel was excavated from Agroha (District Hisar) and now housed in the state museum Haryana. The Goddess Lakshmi is carved in the central niche seated in the padmasana on a lotus pedestal.²⁸ Her two hands seem in yogic posture (9th to 10th Century A.D.). A clay sealing of about 2nd – 1st Century B.C. from Agroha and coins of the Agra Janapada of Agroha,²⁹ indicate the popularity of the worship of Lakshmi in Haryana in the early centuries before Christian era. The another image of Gaja-Lakshmi is collected from a small fane at Kapalamochan. The image is painted by the priest to make it more attractive. In this icon she is seated in Sukasana mudra.

Saraswati – Saraswati, the Goddess of learning and fine arts occupies a place of paramount importance in terms of popularity and wide appeal amongst the Gods and the Goddesses of the Brahmanical pantheon.³⁰ She is variously known as Vach, Vagdevi Vagisvari, Vani, Sarada, Bharati and Vinapani. The Goddess is held in high esteem all over the country by the Hindus, the Buddhists and the Jains alike. As are concerned to the region of Haryana, the four bronze images of the Goddess Saraswati are collected from the Hansi bronze hoard. In these images she is in standing pose and having lotus and book in her two hands.³¹ An icon of Goddess Saraswati made of stone is recovered from Rohtak. In this image she is seated in lalitasana (9th Century AD). Another stone image of the Goddess is

25. Bhawanti Sahai, *Iconography of Minor Hindu and Buddhist Deities*, p. 157.

26. *Rigveda*, I. 188.8

27. Davendra, Handa, 'Art remains from Jaintipur', Research paper published in Haryana in Haryana Sahitya Akademi, *Journal of Indological Studies*, O.P. Bhardwaj, 1958, Chandigarh, p. 276.

28. Chanderpal Singh, *Early Medieval Art of Haryana – A Study*, p. 110.

29. Devendra Handa, "Some more sealing from Haryana", *PURBA*, Vol. XXII, no. 1, April 1992, p. 112.

30. Bhawanti Sahai, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

31. Devendra Handa, *Jaina Bronze Hoard from Hansi*, p. 30-31.

collected from a village Durjanpur, district Jind. In this icon she is standing in dvibhanga mudra.³²

Mahisasuramardini – In the group of terracotta icons the image of Goddess Mahisasuramardini is recovered from Agroha belongs to Gupta period.³³ In this image she is shown having four hands and piercing the demon with the upper two hands and holding it with the lower two hands. Another icon of the goddess Mahisasuramardini is found from Khokharakot (Distt. Rohtak) datable to 10th Century A.D., the icon represents the Gurjara-pratihara period. This period was the golden age for the development of sculptural art. A very charming image datable to 9th Century A.D., found from Kalayat represents the six armed Goddess Katayayani, having *chakra*, Sakti (*Trisula*) in the right hands and Ghanta, *pasa-naga* and *dhanusa* in the left hands. She is shown seated on lion.³⁴ Another icon of the *devi* is recovered from Hansi represents to killing the demon.³⁵ An icon is also discovered from Sanghel, Distt. Gurgaon³⁶ representing the deity with six arms, here front left and right arms are engaged in twisting the neck and the back for killing the demon.

Saptamatrika's – Matrika's or the seven mothers representing the Saktis or the endowed energies of the important familiar deities are Brahmani, Mahesvari, Kaumari, Vaisnavi, Varahi, Indrani and Chamunda.

The number and the names of the Matrikas vary in different contexts. They are usually seven, though eight or more of them can also be counted.³⁷

The iconographic features of these mothers are found in greater detail in the Agnipurana³⁸, the Amsumadbhedagama³⁹, the Purvakaranagama, the Matsya Purana⁴⁰, the Rupavatra⁴¹, the Rupmandana and the Silparatna.⁴² We have found the images of Saptamatrikas in a group and also the independent. First example of Saptamatrikas comes from Gokarna Ka Talab, Rohtak. In this panel five Matrikas are survived, whereas remaining two are missing. Another panel is collected from Palwal. In this panel two Matrikas are seated together i.e. Chamunda and Indrani. The panel of village Gujarkheri shows three of the seven Matrikas in a dancing mudra⁴³. A stone slab, probably depicting the sapt-matrikas which are mostly defaced and eroded was found at Kapalmochan (Ambala Distt.) (10th – 11th

32. Chanderpal Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

33. H.L. Srivastva, 'Excavations at Agroha', Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 61, p. 3.

34. Sheela Devi, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

36. D.S. Punia, Archaeology of Mahendragarh and Gurgaon Districts (Haryana), thesis submitted to Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra, 1976, pp. 189-90.

37. J.N. Banerjee, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 503.

38. Agnipurana, Chapter 50, 18-22.

39. Amsumadbhedagama, 46/67.

40. Matsyapurana, 261/24.

41. Rupavata, Chapter 47.

42. Silparatna, Chapter 24/76.

43. Devender Handa, *Sculptures from Haryana, Iconography and Style*, p. 169.

Century A.D.)⁴⁴. Independent Matrika's image with child are also found in this region. Similar example of Matrika having child in her lap is collected from Uchana, Jind. In this icon she is seated in Lalitasana mudra (9th – 10th Century A.D.). Another icon of this type is collected from Bhima Devi temple Pinjore, (District Panchkula) and now housed in the state museum Haryana. In this icon the Goddess is feeding the child seated in her left lap. Third example of this type is collected from Pinjore by the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra. The face of the icon is damaged⁴⁵. The independent images of Goddess Brahmani, Varahi and Chamunda are also found from the different regions of Haryana. An icon of goddess Brahmani is collected from Gujjarkheri, Sonapat. In this icon the Goddess is standing in Sampad-Sthanaka mudra on a lotus seat. Other images are known from Sunderpura, near Kalka, Ratpur and Jagadhari⁴⁶.

Varahi has the face of a boar and colour of the storm-cloud. She wears on her head a Karanda-mukuta and she is adorned with ornaments made of corals⁴⁷.

An image of Devi Varahi, made of grey sandstone, found from Pinjore, now is housed in the state museum Haryana. The Goddess seated on buffalo, having four arms is shown in lalitasana mudra⁴⁸. Another image of the Goddess Varahi is preserved in the Jhajjar museum. In this image she is having a child in her left lap (10th Cent. A.D.).

Chamunda, one of the fiercest aspects of Devi is so named on account of her having caused complete annihilation of two demon brothers, Chanda and Munda, who were under the services of the demon king Sumbha and his brother Nisumbha⁴⁹. Upper part of Chamunda is collected from Pinjore and now housed in the Deptt. of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra. In this icon, she is holding *damru* and *Khadga*. A portion of another extra hand is also visible, her head is adorned by mundamala, wears sarpa kundala and snake as Kanthmala (9th century A.D.)⁵⁰. Another fragment of Goddess Chamunda was collected from the Bhima Devi temple, Pinjore (Panchkula) by the museum of Haryana state (11th – 12th Century A.D.). A broken image of Goddess is collected from the village Gujjarkheri (Sonapat). In this icon both the knees of Devi are bent downwards⁵¹.

The river Goddess, Ganga and Yamuna are generally shown on the doors of temples of the Gupta and early Medieval periods. Ganga is shown standing or

44. Manmohan Kumar, *Archaeology of Ambala and Kurukshetra Districts (Haryana)*, 1978, p. 157.

45. Chanderpal Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-109.

46. Devendra Handa, *Sculptures from Haryana*, p. 170.

47. T.A. Gopinath Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

48. Chanderpal Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

49. Bhawanti Sahai, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

50. U.V. Singh, Pinjore sculpture, quoted by Manmohan Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

51. Devendra Handa, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

sitting on the back of a *Makra*, a mythical crocodile and Yamuna is shown on tortoise⁵².

The sculptures of the Ganga and Yamuna are also reported from the region of south-eastern part of Ancient Punjab (Haryana). The terracotta figure of Ganga is collected from Kariwala (Distt. Sirsa). She is in dvibhanga pose and holding Sala tree branch with her left hand⁵³. A pillar is recovered from Kapalamochan having an image of Ganga. She is holding a water pot in her right hand. Another image of Ganga is collected from Prachin Siva Temple, Pehowa by the State Museum Haryana⁵⁴ (8th – 9th Cent. A.D.).

Above mentioned icons of the Sakt cult scattered in the various parts of south-eastern part of Ancient Punjab (Haryana) show that this cult flourished here from the earliest times to the 12th Century A.D.

52. J.N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 353-54.

53. Devendra Handa, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

54. Chanderpal Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

BANDA SINGH BAHADUR – GREAT WARRIOR AND PARAMOUNT MARTYR

Kavita R. *

Banda Bahadur, known as Biragi Lachhman Dev who was transformed into a saint soldier by Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Guru of the Sikhs was born on 16th, October, 1670 A.D. at village Rajauri in Poonch district of Kashmir in the house of Ramdev Bhardvaj and was a Rajput.¹ After receiving baptism of sword and having a unique change in his personality he ultimately came to be called Banda Singh Bahadur. He grew to be a strong and sturdy young man. He was fond of hunting and horse riding right from his early career. It is said that once he shot a she-deer who fell down after receiving fatal injuries and died in a miserable state. Lachhman Dev took pity on her when he took notice of her fawn dying while tossing and turning. The injury inflicted to it seemed to be extremely painful. His mind witnessed such a change that he was fed up from this world all of a sudden. He was then no longer Lachhman Dev Rajput but an ascetic. In fact, he happened to see one Janki Das Bairagi whose impact it was that he came to be called Madho Das. Afterwards he joined the ascetic group of Ram Das and paid homage to various holy places. Ultimately he settled at PUNCH near the Godavari as he liked that solitary place.

Nath Mal Bhat who wrote a *var* at Nanded near Godavari states that Madho Das met Guru Gobind Singh at former's *dera* during the Guru's last tour to Nanded in 1708 A.D. Before his meeting with the Guru, Madho Das met Yogi Aughar Nath from where he learnt the art of *Yog Vidya* and *Jantra Muntras*.²

Ahemed Shah Batalia gives a dialogue between Guru Gobind Singh and Madho Das at the latter's *dera* which is very impressive. Madho Das asked the Guru when the latter reached his *dera* as to who he was? The Guru replied that he was the same person who was already known to him. Madho Das asked him what did he know? The Guru then argued that he should probe into this answer in his own mind. Madho Das then told him that he was Guru Gobind Singh. The Guru replied in the affirmative. Madho Das then enquired from the Guru about his mission to visit his *dera*. The Guru spoke out his mind by saying that he wanted to transform him as his Singh. Madho Das replied that he was his *banda*

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1. Ganda Singh, *Banda Singh Bahadur* (Punjabi), Amritsar, 1964, pp.11-14; Sohan Singh, *Life and Exploits of Banda Singh Bahadur*, Patiala, 2000, p.3.
2. Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, pp.11-14.

(slave).³

From henceforth Lachhman Das Bairagi came to be known as *banda* when Guru Gobind Singh brought him in the order of the *Khalsa* by administering baptism of sword and converting him into Banda Singh Bahadur. It was nothing short of a miracle that an ascetic in no time became ready to serve the oppressed Sikhs who were facing injustice and tyranny of the Mughal authorities. The instant change in the *bairagi* saint might be due to the impact of Guru Gobind Singh's magnetic personality, his impressive commands and injunctions to him and some previous know-how of the activities of the Guru as well. In a short time Banda Singh must have acquainted himself about the past adventures of the sect into which he shifted himself viz. a viz. the torture and tragic death of Guru Arjan, the calamities he bore before his martyrdom; the martyrdom of Guru Tegh Bahadur for the protection of Hindu religion from the hands of fanatic Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb. He also came to be known about the martyrdom of the four *sahibzadas* of Guru Gobind Singh, the elder two while fighting heroically against the Mughal troops in the battle field of Chamkaur and the younger two who were bricked alive by the orders of Mughal Subedar Wazir Khan of Sirhand which would ever be called a matchless sacrifice.

Banda was overwhelmed by all these events and prepared himself for the foregoing struggle against tyranny, oppression and injustice. Guru Gobind Singh advised him to proceed to Punjab in order to stop the domination of the Mughal power. According to a version five Sikhs were sent along with him to the Punjab. The Guru also gave him five arrows from his quiver with his supreme blessings. Nath Mal, a contemporary ballad singer (*dhadi*) who was with the Guru at Nanded wrote in his *var* or poetic verses known as *Amarnama* that the Guru sent along with him five freedom loving Sikhs (*Punj Singhane, Azad Mard*).⁴ This means that 'freedom' figured in Guru's mind.

From this statement we may infer that the bard is pointing out that the tenth Guru's struggle was against narrow thinking or fanaticism which in its own turn resulted in tyranny and oppression of the despots. It is commonly accepted belief that Bhai Binod Singh, Kahan Singh, Baj Singh, Daya Singh and Run Singh accompanied Banda Singh Bahadur to the Punjab.⁵

Banda Singh sent messages to the Sikhs living in far flung villages in the Punjab to gather together for taking revenge from the Mughals. He also conveyed to them that the blessings of Guru Gobind Singh would always be with them. Kesar Singh Chhibbar writes in this context that Banda Singh Bahadur wrote to the Sikhs:

*Je tusin us purak de Sikh akhvao tan pap adharm aneao na kamao
Sikh ubhar asikh sangro. Purak da kiha hirde dharo. dekho asikh so*

3. Ahemad Shah Batalia, 'Zikr-e-Guruaan Wa Ibtida-e-Sikhan Wa Mahzab-e-Eshan (tr. Gurbux Singh), *History of Punjab*, Patiala, 1969, p.31

4. Kavita R., *Amarnama: Last Phase of Guru Gobind Singh's Life*, Patiala 2008, p.8

5. *Ibid.*, cf. Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Prakash*, Amritsar, 1962, p. 81.

*pakar sangaro bhekhi, kapt, papi chun maro.*⁶

Rattan Singh Bhangu writes that Banda Singh wrote letters to the Sikhs making an appeal to join him immediately:

*Esi bheji likh ardas bheji khalsa khalsa pas so sun khalse sir par dhari turant ralan ki tiari kari. jis Sikh pai kharch na hoe bina kharch vand khae soe.*⁷

Banda Singh was on his way to Punjab when many Sikhs joined him with great zeal. Ganda Singh writes a specific episode which adds to our astonishment about a Sikh named Aali Singh who was an employee of Nawab Wazir Khan of Sirhand and was a resident of village Slaudi near Sirhand. On hearing the news about the approach of the Sikhs under Banda Singh and their march to the Punjab, Nawab Wazir Khan called Aali Singh and said to him by way of a joke that one more Guru of the Sikhs was coming. He should go to him and bring him there. He would finish him there and then so that he might see the late young martyred sons of Guru Gobind Singh soon. On hearing those torturing remarks Aali Singh kept quiet but only said that Wazir Khan needed not to send someone for calling him because he would visit Sirhand himself incase he was the true Guru. Aali Singh then requested the Nawab to allow him to leave the employment of Sirhand. The Subedar could not tolerate this insult and ordered to bring Aali Singh and his men in custody. Aali Singh however, managed to escape and approached Banda Singh Bahadur. He requested him to make an attack on Sirhand. Banda Singh after waiting for some Sikhs from Majha and Doaba marched towards Samana and Sadhaura along with them. He was aware of the fact that it was difficult to attack and capture Sirhand. So he first attacked Samana and Sadhaura to prevent Wazir Khan from receiving any help from those places. He first attacked Samana.⁸

Sayed Jalal-ud-Din of Samana was responsible for the martyrdom of Guru Tegh Bahadur in Chandni Chowk Delhi. Shahshal Beg and Bashal Beg, the two ill-famed executioners who had tortured and killed two younger sons of Gobind Singh were also the residents of Samana. So Banda Singh attacked Samana with a mission of retaliation. Moreover Samana having been a rich town belonging to the Sayeds, Amirs and the Mughals was strong hold of the government. Banda Singh Bahadur attacked Samana on 11th, October, 1709.⁹ The town was destroyed and ruined. A large number of Sayeds and Mughals were killed and many of them left the town for ever and for ever.

Banda was very eager to march against Subedar Wazir Khan of Sirhand. After a short stay at Samana, he attacked Ghuram and Thaska. The Mughal officials at Thaska submitted without fighting any battle. After conquering Mustafabad and Kapoori, he attacked Sadhaura, the Governor of which place

6. Kesar Singh Chhibbar, *Bansavalinama Dasan Patshahin Ka* (ed. Piara Singh Padam), Amritsar, 1997, p. 200.

7. Rattan Singh Bhangu, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

8. Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 33.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

Usman Khan was known for his tyranny and oppression. He was the person who had tortured a famous Muslim Pir Sayed Badar-ud-Din Shah popularly known as Pir Sayed Budhu Shah in Sikh history because he had helped Guru Gobind Singh in the battle of Bhangani. Ganda Singh writes that Usman Khan was so much against Hindus that he did not even allow them to cremate their dead bodies. Hindus were being oppressed by the Government officials. They were not even allowed to perform their religious ceremonies. Nevertheless, the oppressed sects of Sadhaura joined Banda's men. There is a version that some Sayeds and Sheikhs got shelter in Budhu Shah's residence perhaps thinking that he was Guru Gobind Singh's friend and the Sikhs might not harm them. Banda faced the authorities of Sadhaura and marched towards Ropar. Sher Mohammad Khan joined his brother Khizar Khan, nephew Nastar Khan and Wali Muhammad Khan to face the Sikhs. Sikhs from Majha and Doaba joined Banda Singh with a keen desire to fight a religious war. In spite of scarcity of men and weapons the Sikhs achieved victory. The chief aim of their campaign was to save their religion and the honour bestowed upon them by the Guru.

Sayed Muhammad Latif who though was not in much favour of the Sikhs of Guru Gobind Singh yet presented in appraisal a profile of Guru Gobind Singh's status when he states:

Historians agree in eulogizing the great merits of Guru Gobind Singh. In him were united the qualities of a religious leader and a warrior. He was a lawgiver in the pulpit, a champion in the field, a king on his masnad, and a faqir in the society of the Khalsa. He was the right man for the needs of the time.¹⁰

The Sikhs were red with rage and wanted to retaliate against Wazir Khan of Sirhand because of his torturing and bricking alive two younger sons of Guru Gobind Singh. James Brown writes that the tyranny which the Sikhs, their women and children faced was an exceptional tyranny.¹¹

Sayed Mummad Latif while describing the triumph of Banda Singh Bahadur particularly makes mention of the exploits of Sirhand.

Wazir Khan, faujdar or Governor of Sirhand, being informed of the march of Banda in Sirhand, sent a detachment of troops to punish the marauders; but they were repulsed with great slaughter. Wazir Khan marched in person, with a large army under his command. A sanguinary battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Sirhand, in which the imperial army was totally defeated, and Wazir Khan himself killed by an arrow which pierced his breast. Banda now entered Sirhand, (the place where Guru Govind's two sons were

10. Sayed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Punjab*, Lahore, 1916 (reprint), p. 270.

11. Major James Brown, 'History of origin and Progress of the Sikhs', *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs* (ed. Ganda Singh), Calcutta, nd., p.22

murdered) and punished the city in a vindictive and barbarous manner.¹²

Kesar Singh Chhibbar in his *Bansavalinama* gives the names of prominent Sardars who joined Banda on the eve of war of Sirhand. Sikh *sangat* came to see him from far and wide. There was huge gathering of the Sikhs. Banda gave injunction that miserable folk should be protected. Sins should not be committed. The Sikh rule should be based on religious considerations. The Guru should be avenged.¹³

The battle of Sirhand was fought against the Subedar Wazir Khan of Sirhand at Chapper Chiri near Sirhand on 12th, May 1710 on Friday. Banda Singh Bahadur gave the command of Sikh forces to Bhai Fateh Singh, Karam Singh, Dharam Singh, Aali Singh and Sham Singh etc. He himself supervised the whole campaign by standing on a mound. Wazir Khan's forces about twenty thousand in number consisted of horses, bows, arrows, spears and guns. A drastic battle was fought. Wazir Khan's forces could not stand against the force of Banda Singh. The royal elephants crushed their own men in panic. There was a hand to hand fight also. Wazir Khan was wounded by Baj Singh. Baj Singh's companion Fateh Singh inflicted a fatal injury on the body of Nawab Wazir Khan in the battle who breathed his last. The royal troops faced disaster and death. The Sikhs under Banda Singh entered the city of Sirhand on May, 14th, 1710 A.D.

Latif holds that the Faujdar of Sirhand was stabbed by a fanatic follower of Banda.¹⁴ As a matter of fact, Latif was prejudiced against the Sikhs and used the word 'fanatic' but there are evidences in Sikh history which prove that Banda and his Sikhs were against tyranny and oppression and were not partial. There are instances of a number of Hindus and Muslims who were converted to Sikhism because Banda loved human beings and hated injustice, inequality and tyranny. People called him Singh. A Government official named Deen Dar Khan, a journalist of Sirhand, Mir Nasir-ud-Din and Chhaju Jat of village Punjwah near Amritsar after conversion came to be known as Deen Dar Singh, Mir Nasir Singh and Chhaja Singh respectively.¹⁵

Banda Singh Bahadur led several campaigns against Mughal administration. Some of the important campaigns include those of Malerkotla, Majha, Jamuna and Ganga Doab, exploits of Lohgarh and hilly territories, the siege of the Fort of Gurdas Nagal by the Mughal forces etc.

A profile of Banda as a great warrior has been presented in the above pages but the account of achievements of Banda is incomplete until his career as a paramount martyr is not given. Sometimes it is felt that Banda's ultimate defeat was because of the fact that his Lieutenants betrayed him. In fact Baba Binod Singh and his companions had left Banda due to the simple reason that Banda's

12. Sayed Muhammad Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

13. Kesar Singh Chhibbar, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

14. Sayed Muhammad Latif, *op. cit.*, p.278.

15. Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p.169.

war strategy did not meet their approval. Contemporary and near contemporary sources do not suggest betrayal. Banda conquered a vast territory in which Sirhand was most important. The account of the triumphs of Banda Singh Bahadur has already been described. In the long run he had to suffer defeat from the hands of Abdus Smadh Khan, the Mughal governor in the battle of Gurdas Nangal. This was natural because as time had lapsed, the Mughal Government had become more vigilant and serious in dealing with the Sikhs. Banda Bahadur's sources did not have any comparison with the organized Mughal forces. So the suffering and hardship of the Sikhs was but natural. Albeit, the significant issue is that the courage and enthusiasm which Banda and his men displayed is remarkable and matchless. Historians and writers have taken notice of this aspect of Banda's career in an intensive manner and we will take up here a few points.

Writing about the defeat of Banda Singh in the battle of Lohgarh (Gurdas Nangal), George Forster observes:

...Those who escaped took shelter with Banda in Loghur (Lohgarh), but being closely invested, and reduced to extreme distress from hunger, they surrendered at discretion. The captives were conveyed to Delhi, where being exhibited in an ignominious manner to the inhabitants of the city they met the deserved fate, for their savage and often unprovoked cruelties.¹⁶

Forster uses the words 'savage and often unprovoked cruelties'¹⁷ which is absolutely wrong. Forster seems to have no knowledge of the tyranny and oppression committed by the Mughal Government on the Sikhs in the yester years.

The Sikhs suffered a great deal at the hands of Mughals with patience and full confidence on Guru Gobind Singh. This had a long legacy. Kesar Singh Chhibbar writes that the Sikhs who remained calm and serene in the face of intolerable hardships, attained sovereignty in the long run.

Latif states that Banda Bahadur after his arrest and torture remarked that 'he was scourge in the hands of Almighty for the casement of evil doers and that power was now given to others to chastise him for the transgressions.' Latif adds that 'though bravery is a qualification which is highly meritorious and in all cases one which is handed down to posterity and is the audacious achievement of this monster that are yet exception to the rule'. It is evident that Latif very much admits the bravery of Banda Singh in the battle field yet he disapproves his boldness and calls him a 'monster' because he had no knowledge of the past cruelties met out to the Sikhs by the Mughals. Martyrdoms faced in the yester years may be referred in this context. Talking about the courage of Banda Singh and his men, John Surman and Edward Stephenson wrote in a letter to Robert Hedges, President

16. George Forster, *A Journey From Bengal to England*, vol i, Patiala, 1970 (reprint), p. 306.

17. Kesar Singh Chhiber, *op. cit.*, p.201.

and Governor of Fort William in 1716 A.D., 'It is not a little remarkable with what patience they undergo their fate, and to the last it has not been found that one apostatised from his new formed religion.'¹⁸ Kesar Singh Chhibbar states that Lashman Das, who became Banda Singh Bahadur by complying with injunctions of Guru Gobind Singh transformed himself from a *Bairagi* to the Sikh of the Guru¹⁹. His sacrifice for the Sikh movement was indeed an excellence personified.

18. *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs*, p.52.

19. *Sikh Guru Ka Lashman Das Banda hoea : hai si Bairagi hukam Guru Ka mann khroea*. Piara Singh Padam (ed.), *Bansavalimana Dasan Patshahian Ka*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 1997, p. 198.

TURNING HISTORY INTO MYTH : PEOPLE'S PERCEPTION OF HISTORY

Chand Singh*

This paper highlights the present condition of tomb of Amanat Khan, who was famous calligrapher of Mughal period. His famous works of calligraphy were associated with Akbar's tomb, Sikandra (1613 A.D.), Madrasa Shahi Mosque, Agra (1635-36 A.D.), Taj Mahal, Agra (1637 A.D.), Chini-Ka-Rauza, Agra (1639-40 A.D.) and Sarai Amanat Khan, Amritsar (1640-41 A.D.). In this paper, an attempt has also been made to show the perception of people towards the historical monuments. Historical monuments have their national importance. These monuments are not only important as historical buildings, but also these are symbols of cultural identity.¹

The tomb of Amanat Khan² is situated at Sarai Amanat Khan village, near Tarn-Taran, District Amritsar (Punjab). Amanat Khan was a great calligrapher³ during the reign of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. He was a great expert in *Naskh/Naskhi*⁴ writing⁵. His original name was Abd al – Haqq⁶ son of Qasim al-Shirazi. He arrived in India with his brother Allami Afzal Khan Shirazi⁷ (Original name

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1. Bruce G. Trigger, *Archaeology as Historical Science*, monograph, Ed. By Lallanji Gopal, Banaras Hindu University, 1985, p. 8. Also see, Sanjay Subodh, *Material Remains and Historical Sense: A Study in Medieval Archaeology*, (Professor J.S. Grewal Prize Essay, *Proceedings of The Indian History Congress*, 61st (Millennium) session, p. 527.
2. See Plate – 1.
3. The Muhammedans treated calligraphy as one of the most important branches of applied arts. They gave as much emphasis to its development as to other motifs and designs of their brand as arabesque, stalactite and geometrical....Calligraphic designs of the Muhammedans, on the other hand, are representation of the Islamic tenets. They are mostly the verses from the Holy Quran and latter thus give abstract forms to concrete ideas. See, R.Nath, *Calligraphic Art in Mughal Architecture*, Calcutta, 1979, p. 1.
4. *Naskhi* is a round script distinct from Kufic, which is angular. Gradually it became popular and by the 12th century A.D. replaced Kufic. Many similar styles developed almost simultaneously viz, *Thulth*, *Tauqi*, *Rika*, *Muhaqqaq* and *Rayhan*. *Naskhi* however remaining the most important and almost the elemental script. The difference is mainly based on combination of curved and straight lines and their clarity. Its characters are cursive and differ from the *Talat* of the same group by the strength of the strokes and the regular linking of the letters.... This was one of the most impressive genres of art, architectural par excellence, which has been popularly adopted by the Islamic builder. See, R. Nath, *op.cit.*, p.5.
5. Abdul Aziz, *The Imperial Library of the Mughals*, Delhi, 1974, p.23.
6. M.Athar Ali, *The Apparatus of Empire*, Delhi, 1985, p. 117. Also see, Mulla, Abdul-Hamid Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol. II, p. 428. C.f. Wayne E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, *Taj Mahal The Illumined Tomb*, Washington, 1989, p. 247.
7. M.Athar Ali, *op.cit.*, p. 56.

Mulla Shukrullah Shirazi) from their native Shiraz around 1608 A.D.⁸ He was appointed by Jahangir to design the calligraphy on the tomb of Akbar at Sikandra, which task he completed in 1613 A.D.⁹ Although not mentioned in the histories, he apparently held some office in the royal library, both under Jahangir and Shah Jahan, as attested by a fair number of his inspection seals noticed on manuscripts in various libraries and museums.¹⁰

As a *mansabdar*, first time Amanat Khan was appointed *Hakim* of Khambayat (Cambay) in 1615-16.¹¹ In 1617, he was appointed as *Mutasaddi* (Superintendent) of Khambayat and his *mansab* was fixed, original and increase, at 1500 personnel and 400 horse.¹² There is another reference in *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Amanat Khan presented two elephant's tusks to Jahangir.¹³ In 1618-19 Amanat Khan was entrusted with the duty of *Darogah-i-Dagh* (Superintendent of branding of horses and of parading the troops).¹⁴ During the reign of Shah Jahan first reference of Amanat Khan mention in 1631-32AD as a *mansabdar* of 900 personnel and 200 horses.¹⁵ When he died on 29th March 1645, his ranking as a *mansabdar* was 1000 personnel and 200 horses.¹⁶

Under Shah Jahan, Abd al-Haq first receives mention in *Shaban* 1040/ March 1631, when he successfully completed the diplomatic task assigned to him escorting the Persian ambassador Muhammad Ali Beg to Burhanpur from Panipat via Akbarabad.¹⁷ The next mention occurs in June 1632, one year after the death of Mumtaz Mahal, when Shah Jahan reaches the outskirts of Akbarabad and awards Abd al-Haq a *mansab* rank of 900/200, and the noble title of Amanat Khan (Lord of Trust).¹⁸ During the period 1632 to 1637 A.D., Amanat Khan appears to have worked continuously on the calligraphy on the tomb, for which Shah Jahan honoured him, in *Shaban* 1047/ December 1637 A.D. with the gift of an elephant.¹⁹

Shortly after Allami Afzal Khan Shirazi died at Lahore in early 21 January 1639, Shah Jahan granted Amanat Khan an audience to offer condolences to him and his two sons - the eldest of whom, Inayat Allah, had been previously adopted by his brother. Amanat Khan appears to have been so deeply grieved by his brother's death that he resigned his rank and duties and retired to a place near Lahore,

8. W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, *op.cit.*, p. 247.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 252, See Plates 142-143.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 247.

11. M.Athar Ali, *op.cit.*, p. 57.

12. Alexander Rogers (Trans) and Henry Beveridge (Ed.), *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. I, Third Ed. 1978 (Originally published 1909-1914), New Delhi, p. 418.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 423.

14. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 81-82.

15. M.Athar Ali, *op.cit.*, p. 117.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

17. W.E. Begley, *op.cit.*, p. 247.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Abdul Aziz, *op.cit.*, p. 23.

where he built a caravan sarai²⁰ in 1050/1640-41,²¹ and later died sometime in Shah Jahan's eighteenth regnal year corresponding to 1st Safar 1055/29 March 1645.²²

The tomb of Amanat Khan²³ falls within the boundary of the village Sarai Amanat Khan and is situated 400m south-east of the *Caravan sarai* of Amanat Khan. It is not a protected monument. It stands on a 4 high platforms.²⁴ At present it is not in its original shape. Only its central compartment still exist. The central chamber is a small room, which measures 13'6" square. There are two sarcophagi. One is in the centre of the chamber²⁵ and other lies west to the first. The tomb is crowned with a dome surmounted with lotus moulding and a modern finial.²⁶ In 1989, when W.E. Begley visited this tomb, it was not in good condition but it had some original features, like it was marked by minaret.²⁷ On the basis of ruins²⁸ and from the Photo²⁹ given by W.E. Begley, we can draw an idea of its original condition.

In its pristine condition, it stood on a platform. The platform accommodates the crypt of the tomb where there are true graves.³⁰ The entrance to the crypt is in the southern side, which is the basic entrance of the tomb. It was a square structure and the central chamber covered by a gallery, its corners terminating into a minaret. Its façade appears sunken with panels of different shape. Some panels are adorned with cusps, arches, which was the common feature of arches during the reign of Shah Jahan. The tomb is situated in a garden. A contemporary reference in *Mirat Al-Alam* by Bakhtawar Khan, described "Amanat Khan, brother of Allami Afzal Khan.... Khan constructed an inn (*rabat*) of lofty stature and a soul-refreshing garden was near abode of Sovereignty, Lahore he departed from this transitory world to the eternal abode (*sarai*) in the year 1050 (Sic; should be 1054 or 1055/1644-45) and was buried in the garden which he had laid out near his sarai".³¹ Construction of a tomb in garden was a common practice in

20. See Plates 5-6.

21. W.E. Begley, *op.cit.*, p. 247.

22. Ibid., Also see M. Athar Ali, *op.cit.*, p. 202.

23. See plate 1.

24. Ibid.

25. See Plate 2.

26. See Plate 1.

27. See Plate 7 c.f. W.E. Begley, *op.cit.*, Plate 138, p. 249.

28. See Plate 1.

29. See Plate 7 c.f. W.E. Begley, *op.cit.*, Plate 138, p. 249.

30. The tradition of tomb construction did not exist in India before Islam appeared on the scene. (See, Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, Bombay, 1975, pp. 3-4) Islam commanded its followers to bury their dead, its stipulated that the dead body must be laid in the grave with the head to the north and the feet to the south, the face being turned towards Mecca (see, T.P. Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, Delhi, Third Impression 1993 (First Published in 1885 in London), p. 46) Probably, the first tomb to be erected on Indian soil is the one popularly known as Sultan Ghauri. This tradition began under the Sultans and culminated under the Mughals. (See, Percy Brown, *op.cit.*, p. 13).

31. Muhammad Bakhtawar Khan, *Mirat Al Alam*, Sajida 5, Alavi (ed.) in 2 Vols. Lahore, 1979, Vol II, p. 487. C.f. W.E. Begley, *op.cit.*, p. 249.

medieval India.³² Most probably, Amanat Khan built a pleasure house and garden, after his death it was converted into his tomb. At present, only one remains of pleasure house exist, which is a tank.³³ The small tank measures 13'6" x 8'2" and 3'10" deep, situated in the north of the same platform, where the tomb stands. At present this tomb is in use as a *dargaha*. Plasters cover its dome and only northern entrance is open, which measures 6'4" broad, other three gates are closed.³⁴ However, due to lack of maintenance and protection the tomb of a renowned calligrapher of Mughal India is reduced to ruins. This historical building requires a status of government protected monument and proper maintenance immediately.

This historical monument not only gives information about the past,³⁵ but also it has utilitarian aspect too. Historical monuments which are heritage of the nation, their preservation and attitude of people towards them reflects sense of history of the nation.

32. In the beginning tomb consisted of an imposing composition of vaulted halls and towering domes and was enclosed within a spacious garden, all on a grand scale, yet enshrining in the centre a mere handful of dust laid in a plain mound of earth to be seen in the mortuary chamber below. In the course of time the tomb building, especially in northern India, introduced itself into the landscape, much of the finest Indo-Islamic architecture being expressed in their structures. The tomb usually consists of a single compartment or tomb chamber, known as *Huzrah* or *estahah* in the centre of which is the cenotaph or *zarih*, the whole structure being roofed over by a dome. In the ground underneath this building, resembling a crypt, is the mortuary chamber called the *maqbarah* or *tahkana*, with grave or *qabr* in the middle. (see, Percy Brown, *op.cit.*, p.4).

33. See plate – 3.

34. See plates – 2 and 4.

35. Sanjay Subodh and Chand Singh, 'Turkish Bath in Sarai Doraha : A Study in Medieval Architecture', *History Today*, No. 12, 2011, p. 54., Also see, Chand Singh, Deformation of Historical Monuments : A Case Study of Panipat, *Kurukshetra University Research Journal*, Vol. XLIV, 2010, p. 257.



Plate-1



Plate-2

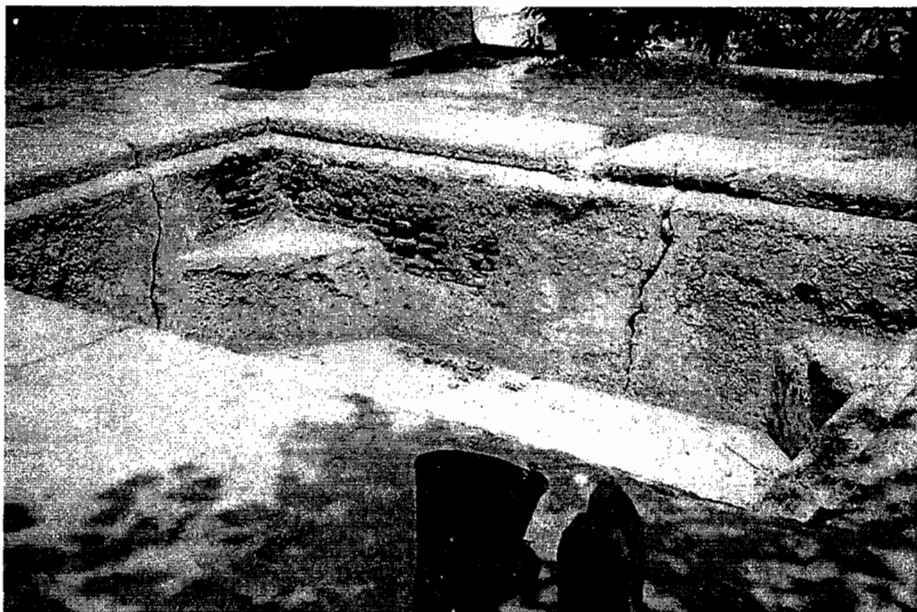


Plate-3

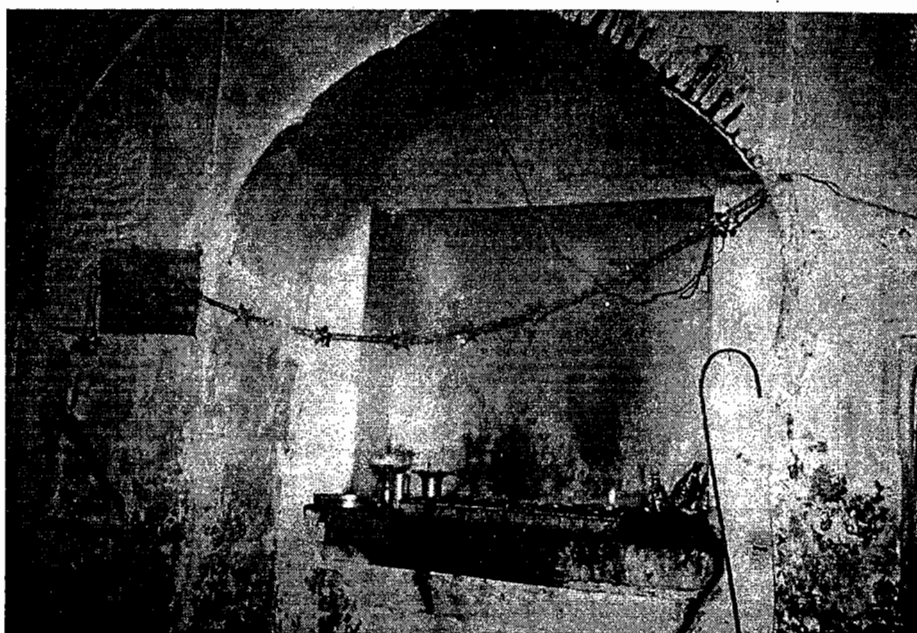


Plate-4

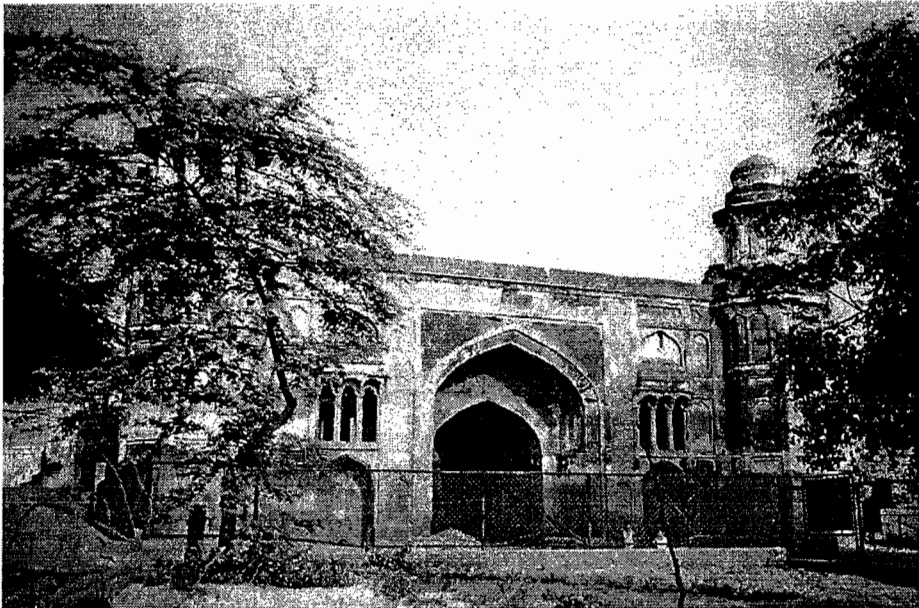


Plate-5

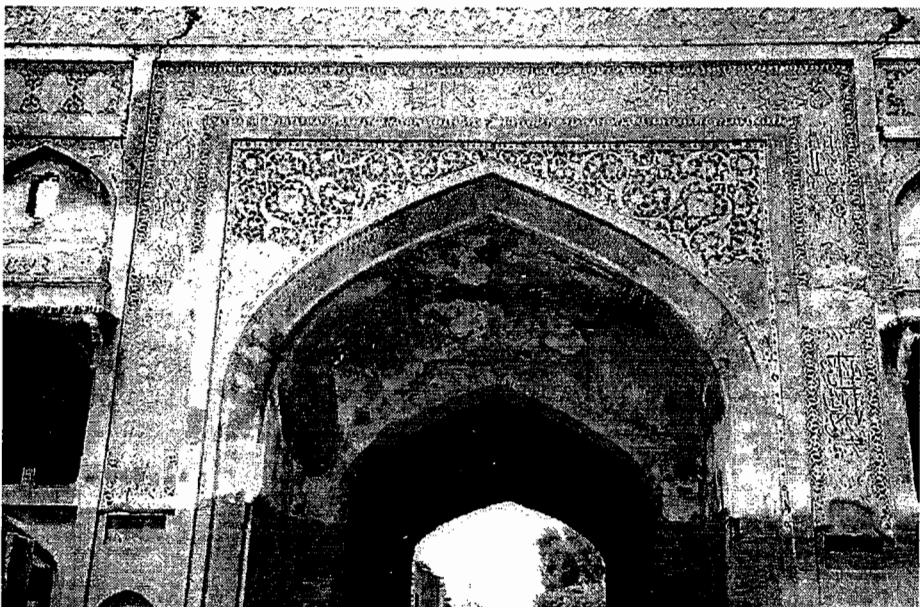


Plate-6

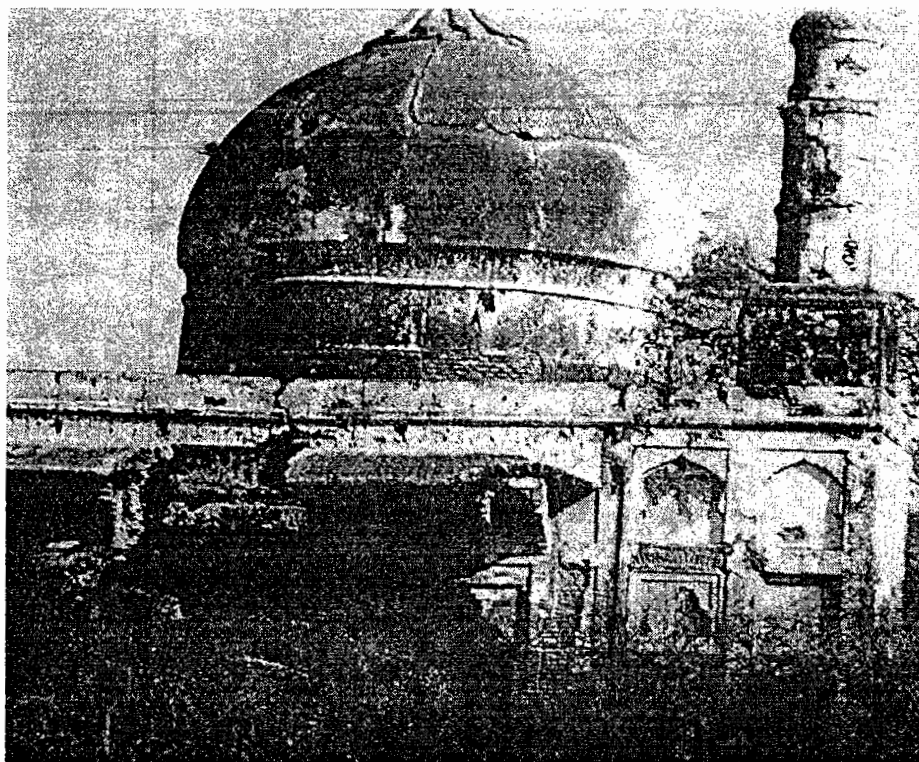


Plate-7

GURU NANAK AND HIS TIME

Daljit Singh*

History has its own value, but Nanak cannot be judged in light of history, it is history that should be judged in the light of Nanak. The advent of first Sikh Guru, Guru Nanak Dev in the 15th century upon this discordant land of people was a great event in the history of mankind. He never contradicted or degraded any other religion. He appreciated whatever was valuable in other religious traditions. He was a person of extraordinary moral courage and independence; and above all was very great mystic and poet. His sweet and sublime poetical compositions in which were contained his teachings, attracted large masses of people to him and captivated their hearts. A close look at the history of India of Guru Nanak's times reveals that people belonging to the two dominant sections of society i.e. the Hindus and the Muslims were poles apart. Exclusivist attitude of both the communities was not conducive for inter-faith understanding. They harbored ill will and hatred towards each other. Bhai Gurdas, a great Sikh Savant of 16th century has very appropriately summed up the prevalent decadent state of religion in the following words :

"Hinduism and Islam, each were divided into four sects. Strife was wide spread among the people who were filled with egoistic manners and pride. The Ganges and Banaras were sacred to the Hindus, so were Mecca and Kaaba to the Muslims. The Muslims were firm on the rite of circumcision (*shariat*) while the Hindus were deeply revoked to the sacred threat and forehead mark. Though, they worshipped Ram and Rahim, the manifesting one Reality, yet their diversity led them astray from the path of Truth. All of them had forgotten the Vedas and the *Quran*, and contrarily followed Satan on the way of greed and worldliness. Truth was put aside, and the Brahmins and Maulvis clashed with each other bitterly. None of them practiced the way of escape from bondage of transmigration."¹

Though, both the communities lived side by side but they continued to more around their own orbits. The social and political differences were to acute and fundamental that it had created a great barrier between the two communities. The segregation between the two was so sharp that the Hindus had come to despise the Muslims as the *Malecchas* (unclean) whereas the Muslims looked upon them as the *Kafirs* (non-believers). The religious leaders of both the communities i.e. the Ulamas and the Brahmins had come to cultivate a spirit of ill

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1. Bhai Gurdas, *Varan* Amritsar 1962, Var 1, Stanza 21.

will, distrust and envy to each other, which in turn had fanned the communal rivalries and sectarian animosities in India at that time. Obviously, the perennial spirit and ennobling inspiration of religion had come to be obliterated with the veils of manmade boundaries of creed, caste, race and meaningless rituals and observations. In a society honeycombed with racial arrogance, social exclusiveness and superstitions of diverse kinds, religion could hardly be any thing but a formal, shapeless system of arid beliefs and lifeless rituals. This was the general characteristic of the age, a common vice infecting both Hinduism and Islam. The 'age of darkness' was dark for both the communities.²

Guru Nanak responded to the above challenge in a very unique and practical manner. In response to the Divine call he began his spiritual ministry on a very revolutionary note. It underlines the Sikh viewpoint on the issues of coexistence and interfaith relations. He was a bridge between Hindus and Muslims. He had remarked, there is "No Hindu and No Musalman",³ there was only man. He was not only a spiritual leader but also a crusader against social evils and divisive forces in the country. He was successfully spearheaded a vigorous spiritual and social reform movement.

Guru Nanak was not a religious leader who sit back and remain satisfied in Utopia. He went on to promote and propagate harmonious social relations and religious coexistence in the prevalent strife torn of his times. He reached out to people and took his message to distant parts of India sub-continent and West-Asia. He visited important religious centres of all the communities and entered into a dialogue with a wide variety of religious leaders in order to wean them away from the false and divisive nature of religion. He enlightened them about the perennial spring of spirituality that is at the core of every religion. Similarly he took concrete steps of promote mutual trust and harmony among the people through the institutions of *Sangat* (congregation) and *Pangat* (community kitchen). The impact of his teachings on the Indian society has been incredible. These teachings have greatly influenced the people of India in general and those of Punjab particular. Guru Nanak did not confine his mission to this country alone. He travelled far and wide, in order to enlighten humanity as a whole and administered to it his message of love, peace, devotion to God, social justice-religious toleration and universal brotherhood. For Guru Nanak no country was foreign and no people alien.

Guru Nanak was probably the first to give India the concept of a nation. In this hymns he speaks of the walls of 'Hindustan' during those turbulent times and invokes the blessings of God for the people with a tortured mind.⁴

He underlined the unity of all religions and by abolishing the distinctions between them, he gave a new concept the concept of Nationhood. According to

2. M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Oxford, 1909, Vol. I, p. 238.

3. Miharban Sodhi, *Janamsakhi Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji*, Amritsar, 1962, p. 93.

4. *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*, Sri Damdami Bir, various printed editions, standard pagination 1430, p. 360; M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, New Delhi, 1963, Vol. I, p. 119.

Gobind Singh Mansukhani, 'Never before, in her history, was India regarded as a nation. It was a conglomeration of various communities, differing from one another in their social, ethical and cultural life. Guru Nanak used the word Hindustan (India a nation) 500 years ago. We come across this word four times in his hymns. India is a nationality bound together by common ideals and aspirations.'

His teachings, which reinforced the concept of Nationhood, was the equal place that he gave to women with men in society. He was the first among the religious teachers who rehabilitated women in Indian society. Guru Nanak advocated equality for women. He raised his voice to get them an equal status with men in the domain of religion and society. The sons and daughters are all the creation of God, with the same light of God in them, says Guru Nanak. He enabled women folk to win recognition as independent social entity and laid the foundation for their educational and social development. He deprecated the idea that woman was an inferior being, a status to which she had been reduced in the social order, owing to such custom as *purdah* which had been forced upon the population, by the repeated invasions of India on its Northern frontiers. That is not to say that after more than a century of freedom from such invasions, emancipation of women has become a complete reality in our country. Guru Nanak held that no society could progress if one half of it was condemned to a lower status. He wrote, "we are conceived in the wombs of women; we are born of them, we are betrothed and married to them. On account of this union several friendly relations are established and it is she who keeps the race going. When a life dies, another is sought as our social fabric depends on them. Why call them low who give birth to kings and emperors?"

The appearance of Guru Nanak on the scene was the high watermark of this Reformation Movement, and it was proclaimed to the World by one of his disciples Bhai Gurdas in the following words: "When Satguru Nanak appeared in this world The mist of superstition vanished, And there was Light in the Universe."

As the principal protagonist of the Bhakti Movement, he transformed the devotional mysticism of the giants into a mass movement of social and religious freedom and equality, promoting dignity of action without distinction of caste and status. It is believed that he preached 'liberal social doctrines';⁹ he upheld the ideal of equality and advocated a casteless society.¹⁰ He was an apostle of 'universal

5. Gobind Singh Mansukhani, *Guru Nanak World Teacher*, New Delhi, 1968, p. 5.

6. Kapur Singh, *Parasharprana; or the Baisakhi of Guru Gobind Singh*, Jullundur, 1959, p. 428.

The author goes on to add that this doctrine repudiates the bases of the institutes of the Hindu caste system and lays down secure foundations on which the traditions of a liberal democracy may be reared and the super structure of an equalitarian society may be raised, in which social justice is secured, laws, the justness of which is guaranteed by the refined and awakened conscience of the community.

7. *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*, p. 473.

8. Bhai Gurdas, *Varan*, Var I, stanza 36.

9. Teja Singh, *The Religion of the Sikh Gurus*, Amritsar, 1971, p. 100.

10. Kahan Singh, *The Sikh Religion*, p. 147.

brotherhood' and he condemned 'caste and class'.¹¹ He reached them though their native tongue, eschewing the learned language of the Brahmans. The untouchables were the *Sudras* of impure birth, performing social duties which subjected them to constant defilement. They were condemned to permanent social degradation, denied elementary civic rights and rigidly excluded from places of worship,¹² public places and even the neighborhood of caste Hindus. The *Sudras* formed a big section of the Indian proletariat. Many mixed castes were included among the *Sudras*. Majority of agricultural labourers, craftsmen like *kumharas* (potters), *kahars* (palki bearers) *malees* (gardeners) betel sellers, *telis* (oil-pressers) *tarkhans* (carpenters), *lohars* (blacksmiths) etc. formed the *Sudra* community.¹³ The condition of the untouchable was the worst. They lived not only under the shadow of contempt but also below the subsistence level of human existence¹⁴. Today, we still have the problem of Harijans (lower caste) with us, though Gandhi ji toiled hard to uplift them. Guru Nanak's teaching is, therefore as valid in the present context as it was during his times. K. L. Seshagiri Rao remarks, "His (Guru Nanak's) approach to inter religious relation is still valid and very much needed today. Mahatama Gandhi in our own times has admirably followed the footsteps of Guru Nanak in this regard"¹⁵ Thus the caste system which was woven in the fabric of religious belief, formed the bedrock of the Hindu society. It brought degradation in its train and became a burden and a curse for the society. Guru Nanak, a keen observer of the existing conditions of his own times did not fail to comment on the caste system and the degeneration it had bought into the fold of Hindu society. The traditional four varna the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras had undergone tremendous changes since the Turkish invasions on North India after 100 A. D.

Multi-religious and multi-lingual India has different kinds of organizations, institutions and individuals that have commitment to improve the equality of life. Justice is a moral concept that is based on humanitarian values. Social justice means improving the lot of the downtrodden and weaker sections of the community and removing untouchability.¹⁶ The concept of social justice emphasizes on the right of the weaker to the protection of the State against the ruthless competition of life. It means treating human being as a human being that includes equality of treatment, equal opportunities for betterment and equality of status to all¹⁷ In

11. Sardul Singh Caveeshar, *The Sikh Studies*, London, 1937, p. 9.

12. In one of the hymns Namdev clearly states that when he want to pray in a temple, he was turned out for he belonged to a low caste of Calico printers. See *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*, p. 1164.

13. B. N. Lunia, *Life and Culture in Medieval India*, Indore, 1978, p. 140.

14. J. S. Grewal, *Guru Nanak in History*, Chandigarh, 1969, p. 55.

15. K. L. Seshagiri Rao, "Guru Nanak and the Hindu Heritage" in eds, *Guru Nanak His Life, Time and Teachings*, Guru Nanak Foundation, New Delhi.

16. R. R. Prasad Singh and B. K. Jha, "The concept of social justice: A Theoretical Analysis", in C. P. Barthwal (ed.), *Social Justice in India*, Lucknow, 1998, p. 46.

17. T. P. Tope, "Social Justice in India" in N. R. Madhava Menon (ed.), *Social Justice and Social process in India*, Allahabad, 1988, p. 217.

Indian scenario, the term social justice means eradication of caste system and special provisions for the up liftment of the lower castes and the weaker sections of the society. Caste has been the distinctive feature of Indian society since times immemorial. According to Trilochan Singh "In his boyhood Guru Nanak revolted against the caste-system and all the ceremonies and laws of the Hindu code that differentiated man from man on the basis of birth, class or lineage. He demolished the barriers not only between high and low cast people but removed the cultural and religious barriers between Hindus and Muslims. He rejected the fourfold order of the Hindu society and considered it highly dangerous for the progress of Indian society and culture.¹⁸ It seems that Guru Nanak has given to the people of the world an idea of society which aims at economic and social future. According to K.A. Nizami, "Guru Nanak is one of those great men of history whose memory is enshrined in the hearts of men and whose fame transcends the bonds of time and space. The universality of his message, combined with a dynamic approach towards religion, deep humanism and concern for the out caste and the down trodden..... Few Indians have understood better than Guru Nanak the multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-lingual, pattern of Indian society. He sought to evolve a social attitude which should not merely tolerate different forms of life and thought but would look upon them as part of a common heritage."¹⁹ He equality in all spheres of life without any consideration. At the social level, Guru Nanak attacked two of the most serious social evils-communalism and casteism."

The Sikh Gurus have never sought forced conversion. They exhorted the people again and again to be true to their respective real creeds. They did not approve on religions intolerance and discrimination against the people on religious grounds. Guru Nanak raised his voice against the restrictions imposed upon the religious freedom of the people belonging to the faith other than that of the ruling class; the Sikh Gurus championed the cause of religious co-existence and communal harmony. The main reason for the martyrdoms of Guru Arjan in 1606 and Guru Tegh Bahadur in 1675 was that they came in the way of the Mughal state, which wanted to destroy the multi-religious character of Indian society through its repressive policy. Sikhism thus preaches equality, tolerance and co-existence. These entire ideals hold key to further the case of inter faith understanding.

The need of the day is that they must collaborate by learning to live together as partners in a world of religious and cultural plurality.²⁰ Guru Nanak is most articulate in his social criticism when customs and institutions appear to touch upon religion. Consequently his criticism is directed most clearly against the religious leaders and their ceremonies and customs.²¹ Guru Nanak's teaching embrace

18. Trilochan Singh (ed) *Selections from Sacred Writings of the Sikhs*, p.27

19. K.A. Nizami, *Some Social and Religious Ideals of Guru Nanak*.

20. W. C. Smith, "The Christian in a Religiously Plural World", in John Hick and Brian Hebblethwaite, eds., *Christianity and other Religions*, p. 50.

21. W.H. Mcleod, *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1968, pp. 162-63.

JOHN NICHOLSON, THE MOVABLE COLUMN AND THE UPRISING OF 1857

Harinder Kaur*

John Lawrence and John Nicholson decided and determined the suppression of uprising of 1857 in the Punjab. John Lawrence methodically and singularly planned the course. John Nicholson broadly and brutally executed the plan. He symbolized speed and strength. Both acted with purpose and precision to secure the Punjab and Delhi. Finally, John Lawrence prevailed in the British perceptions as well as in historiography. The present attempt is focus on the handiwork of John Nicholson with special reference to the Movable Column which played important role in the early suppression of uprising of 1857 in the Punjab and Delhi as well.

John Nicholson was born on December 11, 1822 at Lisburn in the house of strict Ulster Protestants Dr. Alexander Nicholson and Clara Hogg in North of Ireland. His parents belonged to Anglo-Irish families settled in the North of Ireland. He studied at the Royal School at Dungannon in the County Tyrone. With the help of his maternal uncle Sir James Hogg, a prominent member of the East India Company, John Nicholson got a nomination of direct Cadetship in the Bengal Infantry in 1838. He received training at the East India Company's Military College of Addiscombe. He landed in Calcutta in the middle of July 1839. His first posting was at Banarès with the 41st Native Infantry sepoy. He was posted permanently to the 27th Native Infantry quartered at Ferozepur on the Sutlej. He reached there on March 23, 1840. In November, he was sent to Peshawar welcomed by General Aitaville. In the early 1841, the 27th Native Infantry reached Jalalabad in Afghanistan. He moved to Ghazni to release the 16th Native Infantry. He became a prisoner and a captive in the hands of Akbar Khan. He remained in captivity at Bamian with the remnant of the ill-fated garrison. He escaped by bribing the guard and was secured by General Pollock in September 1842.

In January 1843, John Nicholson's regiment marched down to Meerut. He participated in the battles at Ferozeshah and Sabraon in 1845-46.¹ He was one of

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1. Lionel J. Trotter, *The Life of John Nicholson: Soldier and Administrator*, John Murray, London, 1898, pp. 2-8, 10; See also, G.D. Oswell, *Sketches of Rulers of India: The Mutiny Era and After*, Vol. 1, OUP, Oxford, 1908, p. 118.
2. Lionel J. Trotter, *The Life of John Nicholson*, pp. 18-21.
3. John William Kaye, *A History of the Great Revolt*, Vol. II, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, 2008 (First Published 1864), p. 451.
4. Lionel J. Trotter, *Life of John Nicholson*, pp. 46, 55-56, 126-27, 194.

the officers sent by Lord Hardinge to Jammu to assist in training the infantry of Maharaja Gulab Singh of Kashmir.⁵ In 1846, Lord Hardinge sanctioned his permanent appointment to the North West Frontier Agency as Assistant to the Resident, Sir Henry Lawrence at Lahore. He got independent charge of the Sind Sagar Doab, lying between the rivers Jhelum and Indus.⁶ In 1848-49, he fought at Chillianwala and Gujrat in the front of General Gilbert's pursuit of the Afghan auxiliaries.⁷ He got the rank of brevet-major.⁸

In 1849, after the annexation of the Punjab, John Nicholson was appointed Deputy Commissioner of Rawalpindi. He acquired a cult status in the name of new god 'Nikalsain'.⁹ He was called to curb the 'wild and lawless' tribes of the frontier.¹⁰ He returned England on furlough during 1850-51. On return, he was appointed Deputy Commissioner of Bannu in May 1852. He met his old comrade Neville Chamberlain, Military Secretary, Board of Administration at Lahore. He acted tough against the Umarzai Wazirs. Terror had become his policy.¹¹ John Lawrence, Chief Commissioner, Punjab, reported to Lord Dalhousie that Major John Nicholson was 'the best district officer on the frontier, shrewd and intelligent.' However, both John Lawrence and Lord Dalhousie objected his method of leading punitive expeditions without submitting details. 'Don't send up any more men to be hanged direct', wrote John Lawrence in July 1853.¹² John Lawrence reminded him that he was now a civil officer and he must leave punitive measures to the military authorities.¹³ His reputation as 'the toughest European in Asia' preceded him everywhere. He was credited with having 'kept the border' safe from Afghan tribes.¹⁴ Between 1849 and 1855, the British had to mount no fewer than 15 expeditions against recalcitrant frontier tribes.¹⁵ Lord Dalhousie wrote that John Nicholson was 'a first rate guerilla leader, but we do not need a guerilla policy.' Lord Dalhousie called him 'tower of strength.' He was feared for his ferociousness. Herbert Edwards considered Nicholson's 'powers of investigation great and methods severe.' He was shy and reticent and found it difficult to converse freely in a mixed company. In 1856, he was appointed Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar. He was a severe ruler. He was 'rapid in

5. Colin Campbell, *Narrative of the Indian Revolt from its Outbreak to the Capture of Lucknow*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2007 (First Published 1858), p.167.

6. G.D. Oswald, *Sketches of Rulers of India*, Vol. I, p.124.

7. John William Kaye, *A History of the Great Revolt*, Vol. II, p.451.

8. Colin Campbell, *Narrative of the Indian Revolt*, p.167.

9. R. Bosworth Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, Vol. II, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1885, pp.82-83.

10. G.W. Forrest, *The Indian Mutiny*, Vol. I, Srishti Book Distributors, New Delhi, 2003 (First Published 1904), p.117.

11. Lionel J. Trotter, *Life of John Nicholson*, pp.130-34, 145, 150-51, 160-61.

12. Lionel J. Trotter, *Life of John Nicholson*, pp.177, 180-85, 200.

13. G.D. Oswald, *Sketches of Indian Rulers*, Vol. I, p.133.

14. Pramod K. Nayar, *The Great Uprising: India: 1857*, Penguin, New Delhi, 2007, p.108.

15. William Wright, *Through the Indian Mutiny: The Memoirs of James Fairweather, 4th Punjab Native Infantry (1857-58)*, Spellmount, Gloucestershire, 2011, p.25.

setting trials in his court'. He escaped assassination narrowly on January 21, 1857.¹⁶

On the night of May II, 1857, messages flashed from Delhi and Meerut; "Native troops in open mutiny, cantonments south of the mall burnt; several European officers killed. European troops under arms defending barracks. Electric telegraph will cut."¹⁷ The Punjab had a larger force than any other provinces in India: European 10,326 men; Hindustanis (Regular) 35,900 and Punjabis (Irregular) 13,430, the total being 59,656.¹⁸

Hindustanis outnumbered Europeans in the proportion of 3 to 1. The Europeans were concentrated in Ambala with four regiments and Peshawar with twelve regiments.¹⁹ However, Lord Dalhousie had considered Punjab his 'pet province'. He had drained the older provinces of their best officers to enrich its establishments. Consequently, never since the introduction of British power into India had so large a number of statesmen and generals of the first order been collected together in the administration of any province as the Punjab.²⁰ Lord Charles Canning, the Governor General of India, promptly on 12th May 1857, accorded full plenipotentiary power to the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, John Lawrence. The latter forthwith stopped all private leave, recalled all officers from Kashmir; directed the concentration of Europeans at all important places.²¹ A system of passports was introduced; guards at the ferries were doubled, with orders to present the passage of suspicious characters, especially fakirs and mendicants; letters addressed to mutinous regiments were opened; the native press was put under censorship.²² The Acts XI and XIV of 1857 empowered the civil and military officers to try mutineers and other suspected rebels to meet out punishment including death penalty without appeal.²³ One of the first precautionary measures was the strengthening of the ordinary police, and the occupying of all the ferries and principal passages of the Punjab rivers.²⁴ John Nicholson was dining at

16. Lionel J. Trotter, *Life of John Nicholson*, pp.201-03.

17. J. Cave Browne, *The Punjab and Delhi in 1857*, Vol. I, Languages Deptt. Punjab 1970 (First Published 1861), pp. 91-92.

18. From Secretary, the Chief Commissioner, Punjab to Secretary, GOI, dated Lahore, May 25, 1858, *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, 1859, (Session I), Papers Relating to the Mutiny in the Punjab in 1857, p.1. However, the proportion of British to native troops in India was 'dangerously small': 39,000 British and 2,25,000 native troops including men in contingents paid by and serving in Native States. O.T. Burne, *Cyde and Strathnairn*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1895, pp.13-14, 173.

19. R. Bosworth Smith, *The Life of Lord Lawrence*, Vol. II, pp.2-3.

20. John Clark Marshman, *History of India From the Earliest Period to the close of the East India Company's Government*, William Blackwood Sons, Calcutta, 1876, pp.497-98.

21. Frederic Cooper, *Crisis in Punjab from the 10th May Until Fall of Delhi*, Sameer Prakashan, Chandigarh, 1977 (First Published 1858), p.132.

22. Charles Aitchison, *Lord Lawrence*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1892, p.79.

23. Thomas Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt: India, 1857-1870*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1965, p.294.

24. Papers relating to the Mutiny in the Punjab in 1857: *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, 1859, Session I, pp.7-8.

Edwardes' bungalow on the evening of May 11, 1857, when an officer burst in with the news from Delhi.²⁵ John Nicholson pointed out the importance of telegram about the Mutiny and keeping it secret as long as possible from the native soldiers. Immediately, the post office was seized. The number of seditious papers seized was alarmingly great.²⁶ They were for the most part couched in figurative and enigmatical language. It was sufficiently clear from them that every native regiment in the garrison was more or less implicated and prepared to join the rebel movement.²⁷ John Nicholson virtually made himself Postmaster-General.²⁸ Herbert Edwardes dispatched a rider to Kohat to fetch Neville Chamberlain, Commander of the Punjab Irregular Force.²⁹ John Nicholson, the 35 years old and deputy of Herbert Edwardes suggested the formation of a moveable column of picked troops which should march about the Punjab to overawe the disaffected and strike swift and hard at open mutineers. He favoured the raising of a strong levy of Multani Horse from Derajat. Herbert Edwardes, the 38 years old, Commissioner of Peshawar, approved both the proposals. Major General Thomas Reed, Commander of the Peshawar Division consented to organize a moveable column. On May 13th, 1857, Brigadier Sydney Cotton, the 64 years old Commander of the Peshawar garrison, Lt. Colonel, Neville Chamberlain, the 37 years old, Commandant of the Punjab Irregular Force, Herbert Edwardes and John Nicholson met together at 11 a.m. in a Council of War convened by its President Major General Thomas Reed at his residence to decide on the first step to be taken for ensuring the safety of the Punjab.³⁰ The Council of War asked the organization of a movable column of thoroughly reliable troops to assemble at Jhelum, the central point in the Punjab and hence take the field and put down mutiny wherever it might appear in the Punjab. It decided deputation of Colonel John Nicholson as political officer with the Movable Column. However, John Lawrence objected to it.³¹ Odds were heavy with the 15,000 British troops and 84 guns available to them against a force of 42,000 sepoys with 62 guns. Edwardes and Nicholson gave their opinion that the only chance of keeping the Punjab and the frontier quiet lay in trusting the chiefs and the people and in endeavouring to induce them to side with British against the Hindustanis.³² Herbert Edwardes received a telegraphic message from John Lawrence

25. Saul David, *The Indian Mutiny: 1857*, Penguin, London, 2002, p.138.
26. Lord Roberts, *An Eye Witness Account of the Indian Mutiny*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2005 (First Published 1896), p.35.
27. Julian Spilsbury, *The Indian Mutiny*, Phoenix, London, 2007, pp.75-76.
28. Reginald Wilberforce, *An Unrecorded Chapter of the Indian Mutiny*, John Murray, London, 1894, pp.34-35.
29. Saul David, *The Indian Mutiny: 1857*, p.139.
30. Lionel J. Trotter, *Life of John Nicholson*, p.204.
31. H.B. Edwardes, Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division to R. Montgomery, *Judicial Commissioner, Punjab*, dated March 23, 1858, Lahore: *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, 1859, Session I, p.59.
32. Saul David, *The Indian Mutiny: 1857*, p.139.

approving the formation of the Movable Column.³³ Since John Lawrence had already approved it, the meeting was something of 'a rubber-stamping exercise'.³⁴ General Reed was appointed the Commander-in-Chief for the Punjab stationed at Rawalpindi. Brigadier Cotton commanded all the garrisons beyond the Indus, Neville Chamberlain was selected with general consensus to lead the Movable Column with the 39th, 55th and 64th Native Infantry from Jhelum, Naushera and Peshawar respectively. Both General Thomas Reed and Colonel Chamberlain reached Rawalpindi by evening on May 16th for consultation with John Lawrence.³⁵ A Council of War consisted of Reed, Edwardes and Chamberlain. In fact, John Lawrence suggested Brigadier Sydney Cotton as the commander of the Movable Column. He also recommended the name of Brigadier Neville Chamberlain which was conveyed to General George Anson, the Commander-in-Chief in India. On May 15th, 1857 a telegram was sent to Lord Charles Canning, the Governor General of India from Rawalpindi. Next day, telegram arrived from Lord Canning in Calcutta promising John Lawrence full support but stressing the importance of recovering Delhi.³⁶ John Lawrence, in line with Lord Charles Canning's request gave priority to the capture of Delhi. It meant sending most of the regiments earmarked for the Movable Column down to Ambala to join General George Anson. Hence, the only solution was to raise more irregulars.³⁷ Moreover, the Punjab was the only quarter whence reinforcements could reach the Delhi camp. Every week's delay in recovering the rebel stronghold swelled the numbers of its garrison with fresh streams of armed insurgents.³⁸ By May 17th John Lawrence approved that four companies of 80 men each were to be quickly raised and added to every one of the 18 regiments of Punjab and Sikh Infantry and Military Police.³⁹ Initially, John Nicholson encountered considerable difficulty in raising local levies. There was a general unwillingness to enlist.⁴⁰ The Movable Column consisted of two European regiments of infantry viz. H.M. 24th Foot from Naushera and six picked companies of H.M. 24th Foot from Rawalpindi, one European troop of horse from Peshawar, the Guides Corps from Mardan, the native Kumaon Battalion from Rawalpindi, half a company of sappers from Attock. Irregular Cavalry from Shumshabad and two Punjab Corps of Infantry from Kohat. The purpose was 'to move on any point and crush the rebellion and

33. John William Kaye, *A History of the Great Revolt*, 'Vol. II, p.458. John Lawrence had already approved a mobile force of European and Punjab Irregular Force located at Lahore: T.A. Heathcote, *Mutiny and Insurgency in India (1857-1858): The British Army in A Bloody Civil War*, Pen & Sword, London, 2007, p.74.

34. Julian Spilsbury, *The Indian Mutiny*, p.76.

35. Lionel J. Trotter, *Life of John Nicholson*, pp.203-04, 206.

36. T.A. Heathcote, *Mutiny and Insurgency in India (1857-1858)*, p.75.

37. Saul David, *The Indian Mutiny: 1857*, p.141.

38. L.J. Trotter, *History of India Under Queen Victoria (1836-1880)*. Vol. I, W.H. Allen & Co. London, 1886, p.485.

39. William Wright, *Through the Indian Mutiny*, p.34.

40. Julian Slipsbury, *The Indian Mutiny*, p.76.

mutiny.⁴¹ Original plan was that the Moveable Column should be formed at Jhelum and composed of the 27th Foot from Naushera, a troop of Horse Artillery from Peshawar, a Native Field Battery from Jhelum, the Guides from Mardan, the 16th Irregular Cavalry from Rawalpindi, the Kumaon battalion from Muree, the 1st Punjab Infantry from Bannu and a wing of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry from Kohat. But events moved of so rapidly that before the Column was formed every one of these troops was otherwise deployed. Eventually, the Column was formed of one troop of Horse Artillery, one field battery, and one infantry regiment, all British and all from Sialkot.⁴² On May 20th, the 52nd Light Infantry from Sialkot joined the Movable Column. Its Commanding Officer, Colonel George Campbell, was senior to Neville Chamberlain, but under protest accepted John Lawrence's ruling that for political reasons, Chamberlain must retain command.⁴³ In this Column, there were a considerable number of Sikhs and Gurkhas, considered loyal to the government.⁴⁴ It was destined to execute 'terrible vengeance' upon the revolted sepoys.⁴⁵ These measures were not taken too early, for the 24th, 27th and 31st Native Infantry and the 5th Light Cavalry were all disaffected and it appears had arranged to rise and massacre the Europeans on 22nd May.⁴⁶

John Nicholson was appointed as civil and military officer with the Movable Column. John Lawrence granted permission to raise 1000 Multani horses followed by another 1000 horsemen and 2000 foot soldiers. It was suggested that John Nicholson should accompany the Column. Sir John Lawrence promptly refused; 'Nicholson cannot be spared from Peshawar.'⁴⁷ On May 19, 1857, John Nicholson telegraphed to Rawalpindi that the irregular cavalry at Hoti Mardan, near Peshawar 'showed signs of disaffection.' He immediately imprisoned the Persian editor of a native newspaper, which published 'a false and incendiary report that the *Kelat-i-Ghilzie* Regiment had murdered its officers at its outposts.⁴⁸ A *fakir* was arrested for carrying a bag with 46 new rupee currency notes and a message of a planned rising on May 26th. The *fakir* admitted that he was a frequenter of the sepoy lines. The *fakir* was tried and hanged. John Nicholson discovered that 'the plot was thickening about Peshawar.' On May 21st, Herbert Edwardes and John Nicholson went to bed fully dressed and weapons to hand. They were woken at midnight with the news that sepoys of 55th Native Infantry

41. R. Bosworth Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, Vol. II, pp.14-15. See also, Colin Campbell, *Narrative of the Indian Revolt by Sir Colin Campbell*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2007, (First Published 1858), p.35.

42. Lord Roberts, *An Eye Witness Account of the Indian Mutiny*, pp.37-38.

43. T.A. Heathcote, *Mutiny and Insurgency in India (1857-1858)*, p.75.

44. P.J.O. Taylor, *What Really Happened During the Mutiny*, OUP, New Delhi, 1997, p.51.

45. Charles Aitchison, *Lord Lawrence*, p.80.

46. Colin Campbell, *Narrative of the Indian Revolt*, p.35.

47. G.D. Oswald, *Sketch of Indian Rulers*, Vol. 1, p.137.

48. However, the Regiment remained 'an object of suspicion': From Comm. and Suptd., Peshawar Division to Judicial Commissioner, Punjab, dated March 23, 1858, Lahore: *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers: 1859*, Session 2, pp.60-61.

had mutinied at Naushera, about thirty miles east of Peshawar. The 10th Irregular Cavalry had refused to act against it. It was felt that the sepoys at Peshawar must be disarmed.⁴⁹ John Lawrence called it 'magical'. The Subedar Major Gokul Misra of the 51st Native Infantry 'boasted' that 'the English rule was at the end.' He was hanged on May 29th in view of the assembly troops.⁵⁰ Under the guns and muskets of European troops four out of the five Native regiments were ordered to lay down their arms.⁵¹ Herbert Edwardes had delineated the decimation of 55th N.I: 'we propose to make an awful and lasting example by blowing them away from guns before the whole garrison. Five can be placed before each gun and two troops artillery will throw sixty of them into the air at once. A second sound will finish the matter. The native army required to be appalled. They have not shrunk from appalling us.'⁵² The moral effect of disarming was instantaneous and marked. Onwards, John Nicholson was overwhelmed with new recruits.⁵³

On the May 23rd, news was received at Peshawar that the 55th Native Infantry had mutinied at Mardan and the 10th Irregular Cavalry had turned against the British.⁵⁴ On the May 25th, 120 sepoys marched off with beating and colours flying towards the hills of Swat. John Nicholson chased them. The rebels were 'hunted out of villages.' About 120 were slain outright while 150 had been taken prisoners and 40 were afterwards blown from guns. The 55th Native Infantry had ceased to exist. The British had begun to demonstrate that they were second to none when it came to brutality.⁵⁵ Those who provided information or hunted out rebels were provided rewards of Rs.25 to Rs.200 by the Deputy Commissioners.⁵⁶ The pursuit had been so hot that Nicholson was often on horse back for 24 hours without dismounting.⁵⁷ The officers of the 55th Native Infantry concurred that the Sikhs were on their side to the last. Hence, the Sikhs were spared along with young recruits who were carried away in a panic by the mass.' Onwards, all the Sikhs and Punjabis were taken out of disarmed regiments and re-enrolled into a new regiment.⁵⁸ Nicholson pleaded for the Sikhs and young recruits. The Sikhs had given the authorities timely notice of the mutinous intentions of the *Purbiahs* but why they cast in their lot with the rest when the 55th Native Infantry fled from

49. Saul David, *The Indian Mutiny, 1857*, p.143.

50. Lionel. J. Trotter, *Life of John Nicholson*, pp.208-10, 212; Lord Roberts, *An Eye Witness Account of the Indian Mutiny*, p.61. See also, S.P. Verma, *Eighteen Fifty Seven: Revolt and Contemporary Visuals*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2007, p.58.

51. Julian Spilsbury, *The Indian Mutiny*, p.77.

52. R. Bosworth Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, Vol. II, pp.62-63.

53. Frederic Cooper, *Crisis in Punjab from the 10th May until the Fall of Delhi*, p.36.

54. Lord Roberts, *An Eye Witness Account of the Indian Mutiny*, p.61; See also, S.P. Verma, *Eighteen Fifty Seven: Revolt and Contemporary Visuals*, p.58.

55. Pramod K.Nayar, *The Great Uprising: India 1857*, p.110.

56. Balshastri Hardas, *Armed Struggle for Freedom*, Kal Prakashan, Pune, 1958, p.56.

57. V.D. Savarkar, *The Indian War of Independence 1857*, Rajdhani Granth Ghar, New Delhi, 1970 (First Published 1909) p.149.

58. Saul David, *The Indian Mutiny: 1857*, p.145. Frederic Cooper, *Crisis in Punjab from the 10th of May until the Fall of Delhi*, pp.38-39.

Hoti Mardan is nowhere explained.⁵⁹ Colonel Henry Spottiswoode of the Native Infantry had protested that he had 'implicit confidence' in his men. He implored Sydney Cotton not to act against them. He committed suicide on the night of May 24th.⁶⁰ The disarming of the 64th Native Infantry was entrusted to the Peshawar Column, marching under John Nicholson's guidance along the Swat border. On May 30th, the Column reached Abuzai. Next day, the 64th Native Infantry at Abuzai, Shabkadr and Michni were disarmed. He returned Peshawar. The Movable Column reached Lahore on May 31st⁶¹. On 1st June, John Lawrence through public proclamation 'warned and advised' the Hindustani sepoy of the Bengal Army to prove faithfulness. He claimed that the government might in a month raise 50,000 soldiers in the Punjab alone and there was ample force in the Punjab crush all mutineers. He claimed that English soldiers were pouring into India from every quarter.⁶² It helped the disarmament of the 8th Light Cavalry Regiment. On the June 8th, news arrived that the 35th Native Infantry was intended to revolt at daybreak. Two sepoy were arrested and sentenced to death. On the direction of Neville Chamberlain, they were blown away from guns in the presence of their comrades.⁶³ With the disarmament of the Peshawar garrison and the dispersal of the mutinous 55th Native Infantry in May, John Nicholson and Herbert Edwardes had felt the frontier to be reasonably secure. The most obvious threat was from Dost Mohammad, the Amir of Afghanistan.⁶⁴ John Lawrence had constrained the British officers from stepping on the tribal or Afgan soil. He supported Dost Mohammad military resistance against Shah of Persia. It paid dividends as Dost Mohammad's refrained from active participation in support of the rebels when his help was invoked.⁶⁵ On June 10th, Herbert Edwardes credited friendly policy with Afghanistan at this difficult hour. It had proved to be 'a perfect Godsend'. On June 12th, John Nicholson wrote to his mother: 'we have made ourselves secure by disarming all the disaffected native regiments. I consider that we are stronger in the Punjab at this moment than in any other part of the Bengal Presidency.'⁶⁶

However, John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner had different strategy. On June 11th, he proposed to Herbert Edwardes: 'In order to retain our hold on Lahore and Multan, we must make up our minds to abandon Peshawar and the trans-Indus frontier. Peshawar should be handed over to the Amir of Kabul.'⁶⁷

59. S.N. Sen, *Eighteen Fifty Seven*, GOI, New Delhi, 1958, p.333.

60. Saul David, *The Indian Mutiny: 1857*, p.144.

61. Lord Roberts, *An Eye Witness Account of the Indian Mutiny*, pp.68-69; John William Kaye, *A History of the Great Revolt*, Vol. II, pp.482-85.

62. Frederic Cooper, *Crisis in Punjab from the 10th of May Until the Fall of Delhi*, p.25.

63. Lord Roberts, *An Eye Witness Account of the Indian Mutiny*, pp.68-69; John William Kaye, *A History of the Great Revolt*, Vol. II, pp.482-85.

64. Saul David, *The Indian Mutiny: 1857*, pp.275-76.

65. Bisheshwar Prasad, *Security of Punjab During the British Period*, Sita Ram Kohli Memorial Lecture, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1968, pp.8-10.

66. Lionel J. Trotter, *Life of John Nicholson*, pp.215-18, 220; R. Bosworth Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, Vol. II, p.79.

67. Julian Slipsbury, *The Indian Mutiny*, p.79.

Edwardes considered Peshawar 'the anchor of the Punjab and if (you) take it, the whole ship will drift to sea.'⁶⁸ Herbert Edwardes consulted Sydney Cotton and John Nicholson. They agreed with Edwardes. The Peshawar Valley and the Majha between Lahore and Amritsar were considered the vital points on the holding of the Punjab. It was further resolved that 'footing in the Punjab must be kept until troops arrive from England.' The leading military officers including John Nicholson strongly resisted the move. John Lawrence insisted and approached Lord Canning who replied on 7th August; 'hold on to Peshawar to the last. Give up nothing'.⁶⁹ 'To relinquish it would cause the rebellion to spread to Southern India.'⁷⁰

With the transfer of Neville Chamberlain to Delhi as Adjutant General of the Army on the death of Colonel Charles Chester, John Nicholson was appointed Commander of the Movable Column on June 14th 1857. Colonel Campbell of the 52nd Light Infantry was again superseded. He sent a protest to the Duke of Cambridge.⁷¹ Thus Captain John Nicholson was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General against the rules as he had trust of John Lawrence.⁷² His promotion to the rank of Brigadier General rather than the appointment of Brigadier seems to have satisfied Colonel Campbell.⁷³ He became the youngest Brigadier General in the Bengal Army.⁷⁴ It was a 'tremendous promotion for a regimental Captain who for years had been in civil employ.'⁷⁵ He could not join for a few days. As the troops were needed at Jalandhar, the Movable Column was placed under the temporary command of Colonel Campbell who passed on the command to Colonel Dennies on the basis of seniority.⁷⁶ The Movable Column consisted of 52nd Queen's Light Infantry; Dawes' troops of horse artillery, Bouchier's battery of European field artillery, a wing of the 9th Bengal Light Cavalry and the 35th Light Infantry sepoys. On May 28th, Neville Chamberlain with Frederick Roberts as his staff officer began his march from Wazirabad. He encamped near Lahore on June 1st. On June 9th, at Anarkali, two sepoys of the 35th Light Infantry were blown from Colonel Boucher's guns. Chamberlain made a forced march to Amritsar. He reached on June 11th. A Brahmin, Radha Krishan, was hanged in public for tempering with some of Col. Coke's Punjabis, then forming part of the Movable Column. A proclamation proclaiming his crime and punishment was printed in the goal and published in the city.⁷⁷ The Column reached Jalandhar on June 20th. John Nicholson

68. Lionel J. Trotter, *The Life of John Nicholson*, pp.223-24.

69. Lionel J. Trotter, *The Life of John Nicholson*, pp.223-24; Dolores Domin, *India in 1857-59*, pp. 144-45.

70. Saul David, *The Indian Mutiny: 1857*, p.276.

71. T.A. Heathcote, *Mutiny and Insurgency in India (1857-1858)*, p.106.

72. R. Borwoth Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, Vol. II, pp.79-80, 147.

73. Julian Slipsbury, *The Indian Mutiny*, p.83.

74. Saul David, *The Indian Mutiny: 1857*, p.34.

75. S.S. Thorburn, *The Punjab in Peace and War*, Language Deptt, Punjab, 1970 (First Published 1883), p.215.

76. Lord Roberts, *An Eye Witness Account of the Indian Mutiny*, p.73.

77. *Punjab Government Records*, Vol. VIII, Mutiny Reports, Part I, Lahore, 1911, pp. 269-70.

reached on the same day. A reinforcement of 700 horse and foot sent by Herbert Edwardes joined the Movable Column. John Nicholson joined Chamberlain on June 22nd, 1857.⁷⁸ He strode into the British mess tent at Jalandhar and informed the officers that he had hanged cooks for poisoning the soup with aconite without a trial.⁷⁹

A Durbar was held on 20th June at Major Edward Lake's house at Jalandhar to acknowledge the help of Raja of Kapurthala. General Mehtab Singh, a near relative of the Raja, was humiliated for 'an act of gross impertinence' as he entered the hall with shoes on. John Nicholson wanted to convey the message.⁸⁰ On taking over command, John Nicholson's first care was to establish an effective system of intelligence, by means of which he was kept informed of what was going on in the neighbouring districts.⁸¹ On June 23rd, the Movable Column, weakened by the departure of John Coke's staunch Punjabis for the camp before Delhi, marched off under its new commander towards Phillaur. The 33rd Native Infantry at Hoshiarpur had been ordered to join the line of march. John Nicholson suspected 33rd Native Infantry and 35th Light Infantry. He wanted to disarm them at Phillaur.⁸² He considered mutiny like smallpox, it spreads quickly and must be crushed as soon as possible. At the head of the Column marched Dawes's troop and Boucher's battery followed by H.M. 52nd Light Infantry. Then came the two tainted regiments. The rear guard was formed by a wing of the 9th Bengal Cavalry. On June 25th, the Movable Column reached Phillaur. The 35th Native Infantry was disarmed. Then followed the turn of 33rd Native Infantry.⁸³ By this masterly arrangement some 1500 mutinous sepoys were quietly disarmed in presence of about 800 Europeans and a dozen guns—not a shot fired or a drop of blood shed.⁸⁴ The object with which Nicholson's flying column had been formed was now widely known and apprehension was general amongst all sepoy regiments within striking distance.⁸⁵ John Nicholson stressed that any attempt at desertion would be punished by death. Eight men tried to escape. All were caught and executed after trial by drum-head court martial. On June 28th, the Movable Column retracted its steps towards Amritsar. Moreover, the presence of armed sepoys at Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Kangra and Sialkot was 'an abiding source of anxiety' to the Chief Commissioner. He wrote to John Lawrence that 'the Movable Column as at present constituted is no doubt strong enough to put down any rebellion or disaffection which may

78. Lionel J. Trotter, *The Life of John Nicholson*, pp.225-227-28; G.W. Forrest, *The Indian Mutiny*, Vol. I, p.118.

79. Charles Allen, *Soldiers Sahibs: The Men who made the North-West Frontier*, Abacus, London, 2002, pp.288-89.

80. G.D. Oswald, *Sketches of Rulers of India*, Vol. I, p.139; Lord Roberts, *An Eye Witnesses Account of the Indian Mutiny*, p.75.

81. Lord Roberts, *An Eye Witnesses Account of the Indian Mutiny*, p.76.

82. John William Kaye, *A History of the Great Revolt*, Vol. II, p.634.

83. Lionel J. Trotter, *The Life of John Nicholson*, pp.229-32.

84. S.N. Sen, *Eighteen Fifty Seven*, p.336.

85. S.S., Thorburn, *The Punjab in Peace and War*, p.215.

show itself in any locality at this end of the Punjab.⁸⁶ The Punjab had not been completely denuded of *Purbiahs*. There were at least six more regiments still with arms.⁸⁷

The Movable Column reached Amritsar on July 5th. John Nicholson decided to disarm the 59th Native Infantry at Amritsar. On the morning of the July 9th, a punishment parade was held on the area between the city and the Fort of Govindgarh for the execution of a rebel sentenced to be blown from a gun⁸⁸. Meanwhile, a mutiny in the 46th Native Infantry and in the wing of the 9th Irregular Cavalry broke out at the Northern station of Sialkot, looting the treasury and opening the jail.⁸⁹ Brigadier was wounded. Bishop was killed. The British took shelter in Raja Tej Singh's old fort. Prisoners were released from the jail. Pillage and destruction followed. On July 10, at 9 p.m., John Nicholson marched from Amritsar with a force consisting of Dawes's Troop, three guns of Bouchier's Battery, the 52nd Light, the 3rd and 6th Punjab Infantry, a company of armed police and two troops of newly raised police levies. The Movable Column reached Gurdaspur next day at 3 p.m. covering 44 miles in 18 hours. The rebels were still fifteen miles off beyond the Ravi. On July 12, John Nicholson learned through his spies that the enemy had been crossing the river by a ford at Trimmu Ghat, nine miles from Gurdaspur. In an attack, about 120 mutineers were killed; they went back to the river side. John Nicholson followed them with his artillery and Boswell's Punjabis. The Ravi river was in flood. Many a sepoy swept away in the turbid torrent.⁹⁰ The British superiority in the guns (nine against one) and small arms forced the sepoys to retreat to the river, where they were trapped on a large Island.⁹¹ Nicholson's men could land only after sepoy ammunition started running low. However, sepoys fought for every inch.⁹² On July 14th, evening, Nicholson marched off again for Trimmu Ghat with 52nd Foot. Preparations continued. The mutineers consisted of 1100 strong force. On July 16th, skirmishes started. A few resolute men among the mutineers died manfully at the gun; the rest fled and were either slain on the bank or driven into the river, The gun was captured. The British lost 46 men.⁹³ John Nicholson asked his troops not to take prisoners. Driven back to the river unarmed, sepoys were 'shot like dogs.' Immediately, Nicholson's legendary status began to be built.⁹⁴ John Lawrence was impressed, telling his aides that had other commanders acted with same vigour as Nicholson, Delhi would long since have fallen.⁹⁵ After the action with the Sialkot 'mutineers', matters remained tolerably

86. Lionel J. Trotter, *The Life of John Nicholson*, pp.233-34, 236.

87. S.N. Sen, *Eighteen Fifty Seven*, p.336.

88. John William Kaye, *A History of the Great Revolt*, Vol. II, 637.

89. T.A. Heathcote, *Mutiny and Insurgency in India (1857-1858)*, p.111.

90. Lionel J. Trotter, *The Life of John Nicholson*, pp.241, 243, 246, 250-51.

91. T.A. Heathcote, *Mutiny and Insurgency in India (1857-1858)*, p.112.

92. Amaresh Misra, *War of Civilizations: India AD 1857: The Road to Delhi*, Vol. I, p.511.

93. John William Kaye, *A History of the Great Revolt*, Vol. II, pp.640-41.

94. Amaresh Misra, *War of Civilizations: India AD 1857: The Road to Delhi*, Vol. I, p.511.

95. Saul David, *The Indian Mutiny: 1857*, p.279.

quiet in the Punjab for a short time. The violence of the 'mutiny' had burnt itself out.⁹⁶ Three ringleaders including two Sikhs were hanged. On 27 villages, heavy fines to the total of Rs.7000 were imposed for plundering the British cantonment. The whole event alarmingly indicated that the British hold over the Punjab could only be maintained by preventing Hindustanis and Punjabis to unite their actions.⁹⁷ John Lawrence noted that Sialkot mutineers encouraged by the success of those at Jalandhar evidently intended to sweep across the country picking upon their route the 2nd Irregular Cavalry at Gurdaspur, the 4th N.I. at Narpur and Kangra and probably many of the disarmed sepoys of the 33rd 35th and 54th Native Infantry at Jalandhar and Amritsar.⁹⁸

General Wilson wrote to John Lawrence that unless he should be largely reinforced from the Punjab, he would not be able to hold his own position, much less to assault Delhi'. One regiment held Lahore; one held Multan and Ferozepur; one furnished the detachments to Rawalpindi, Amritsar and Jalandhar. There remained one corps composing the Movable Column. There were at this juncture not more than 4,700 effective Europeans.⁹⁹ John Nicholson adopted a centrally position at Amritsar. Its presences overawed the Majha, the nursery of the warlike spirits of the Khalsa soldiery. It rendered hopeless any movement of the 59th Native Infantry. It could afford immediate help to Lahore and Gurdaspur.¹⁰⁰ On July 22nd, the Movable Column was once more encamped at Amritsar. John Nicholson counselled with John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner, at Lahore. On 21st July it 'was decided that the Movable Column should go to Delhi. The Movable Column marched towards Delhi.¹⁰¹ John Lawrence had felt that if the army before Delhi were now to fall back, it would probably be deserted by all the native troops that were with it such an example probably be followed by province would certainly rise.¹⁰² It was touch and go in the Punjab. Very few Sikhs from the Punjab proper came to the colours till Delhi had fallen. John Lawrence finally decided that it was Delhi or nothing.¹⁰³ On 20th July, John Nicholson had telegraphed that he was most anxious to come down (to Delhi) with his Column there being nothing now for it to do in the Punjab.¹⁰⁴ John Nicholson rejoined the Column near Bias on July 24th, The Column consisted of the 52nd Light Infantry, a wing of the 61st Foot,

96. Papers relating to the Mutiny in the Punjab in 1857: *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers: 1859, Session I*, p.14.

97. Dolores Domin, *India in 1857-59: A Study in the Role of the Sikhs in the People's Uprising*, Akademik -Verlag, Berlin, 1977, pp.137-38.

98. R. Bosworth Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, Vol. II, p.115.

99. Papers relating to the Mutiny in the Punjab in 1857: *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers: 1859, Session I*, p.14.

100. Frederic Cooper, *Crisis in Punjab from the 10th of May Until the Fall of Delhi*, p.78.

101. T.A. Heathcote, *Mutiny and Insurgency in India (1857-1858)*, p.112.

102. Papers relating to the Mutiny in the Punjab in 1857: *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers: 1859, Session I*, pp.14-15.

103. Phillip Mason, *The Men who Ruled India*, Rupa, New Delhi, 1985, p.170.

104. Henry W. Norman and Keith Young, *Delhi 1857*, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 2001 (First Published 1902), p.140.

a Field Battery, a wing of the 1st Baluch Regiment and 2nd Punjab Infantry, besides 200 newly raised Multani Cavalry and 400 Military Police. It constituted about 8000 rank and file of all arms. The Movable Column was 'a most welcome addition to the British force'.¹⁰⁵ He brought with him from the frontier a motley crew called the Multani Horse. They came out of personal devotion to Nicholson and no pay from the government. They recognized no head but Nicholson.¹⁰⁶ The reinforcements were shortly followed by the remainder of Her Majesty's 8th Foot and the 4th Punjab Rifles. One of the newly raised Punjab regiments was also dispatched to Meerut to enable the military authorities there to spare a further detachment of the 60th Rifles and some European artillerymen, for service before Delhi.¹⁰⁷ On 24th June, John Nicholson came to know of 'correspondence' between two regiments coming close at Phillour. The 35th Native Infantry had come under suspicion. They numbered 2000 and they were out maneuvered by 700 men fully armed.¹⁰⁸ On July 27th the Column reached near the Satlej. John Nicholson carried off a body of European gunners from the Fort of Phillour. John Lawrence wrote on August 4th: 'I fear you (Nicholson) are incorrigible. So I must leave you to your fate.' Near Sirhind, the Movable Column had picked up nearly 400 of the 61st Queen's from Ferozepur and 100 of Green's Punjabi Rifles. There were Wilde's Punjabis, a company of recruits for Rothney's Sikhs and three strong companies of the 8th Foot. The whole of the reinforcements from the Punjab amounted to 4200 men of whom nearly 1300 were Europeans.¹⁰⁹ Meanwhile, Lord Charles Canning, on 31st July in his "Clemency Resolution" of 1857 cautioned against undue severity and withdrew from them the power of punishing mutineers other than those charged with specific acts of rebellion or belong to the regiments which had murdered their officers. However, the resolution did not put end to summary executions.¹¹⁰

By August, word of the Movable Column's bloody exploits had reached even Calcutta. Lord Canning wrote that Nicholson was 'sweeping the country like the incarnation of vengeance, had struck terror into wavering hearts'.¹¹¹ On August 2nd the Column moved towards Ambala. John Nicholson reached near Delhi on August 7th, in advance of his troops. He dined at headquarters mess. John Nicholson inspected the batteries and pickets on the ridge on the morning of August 8th. He had conference with General Archdale Wilson, the Delhi Commander. On August 13th the Movable Column encamped at Alipur. Next day, he reached Delhi

105. Lord Roberts, *An Eye Witness Account of Indian Mutiny*, p.114.

106. Reginald Wilberforce, *An Unrecorded Chapter of the Indian Mutiny*, p.26.

107. Papers relating to the Mutiny in the Punjab in 1857: *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers: 1859*, Session 1, p.15.

108. Reginald Wilberforce, *An Unrecorded Chapter of the Indian Mutiny*, pp.36-38.

109. Lionel J. Trotter, *The Life of John Nicholson*, pp.251-53, 261.

110. Thomas Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt: India, 1857-1870*, p.294.

111. William Dalrymple, *The Last Mughal: The Fall of a Dynasty, Delhi, 1857*, Penguin, New Delhi, 2006, p.307.

Ridge. His arrival had morale up on the Delhi Ridge,¹¹² Nicholson's reinforcements increased the British strength on the Ridge to almost 9,500 men, but 1500 of them were *hors de combat* from sickness and wounds. The rebels had more than twice that number.¹¹³ Nevertheless, the arrival of Nicholson's Movable Column provided timely respite to General Archdale Wilson.¹¹⁴ The Movable Column ceased to be a separate command. John Nicholson assumed the role of second-in-command to Wilson. He encouraged all to believe that, with his arrival, the long-awaited attack on Delhi was imminent. Despite John Nicholson's reinforcements, Wilson considered his force inadequate for the purpose. He decided to wait for the seize train.¹¹⁵

A first class siege train left Ferozepur towards Delhi. It had a weak escort. It consisted of 18 heavy guns of various calibers, with suitable source of ammunition, the whole drawn by 16 elephants and 548 country wagons. It occupied by no less than 21 kilometers of road. It was escorted by a wing of the Baluchi Battalion from Sindh.¹¹⁶ The siege train halted at Jagraon, near Ludhiana. The illiterate and poor like the *Sansis*, *Hermis*, *Bawaries* counted the guns and despite the best efforts of the district police officer to check them, supplied the intelligence to the rebels at Delhi.¹¹⁷ The mutineers left Delhi on the night of August 23rd with 6000 sepoys and decided to confront it near Nazafgarh. On the evening of 24th August, General Wilson ordered John Nicholson to go out and intercept the rebels. The intentions of the rebels were speedily reported by Major Hodson's intelligence agents.¹¹⁸ On August 25th, Nicholson rode away at the head of 1600 Infantry and 450 Cavalry and sixteen Horse Artillery guns with a view to confront Bakht Khan. It was a difficult march. His force drew 1st from the 9th Lancers, Her Majesty's 61st Foot and Bengal Fusiliers and Punjab Infantry, Native Cavalry. The rain fell in torrents and the roads were quagmired. By 5 P.M. the Column reached the Nazafgarh *Jheel* or marsh near the village of Barasula. John Nicholson routed 5000-6000 disciplined sepoys having 13 field guns with the loss of 2 officers and 23 men killed and 2 officers and 68 men wounded. The rebels lost 800 men and 13 field pieces, stores, camels and horses. Bakht Khan withdrew and took command of the Delhi Force. The Column reached Delhi by evening August 26th. Many Sikhs were in the ranks of the Delhi garrison.¹¹⁹ It was the first major battle in the open since Badli-Ki-Serai.¹²⁰ Moreover, the prospect was now bright-

112. Rosie Llewellyn, *The Great Uprising in India: 1857-58: Untold Stories, Indian and British*, Viva Books, New Delhi, 2008, p.13; Henry W. Norman and Keith Young, *Delhi 1857*, p.204.

113. Saul David, *The Indian Mutiny: 1857*, p.279.

114. Lionel J. Trotter, *The Life of John Nicholson*, pp.258-60.

115. F.R. Sedgwick, *The Indian Mutiny of 1857*, Forster Groom & Co. London, 1920, p.72.

116. Papers relating to the Mutiny in the Punjab in 1857: *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers: 1859*, Session 1, p.15.

117. K.C. Yadav, 'Punjab was not 'Quiet'', *The Tribune*, 10 May, 2007.

118. T.A. Heathcote, *Mutiny and Insurgency in India (1857-1858)*, p.113.

119. R. Bosworth Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, Vol. II, p.164.

120. T.A. Heathcote, *Mutiny and Insurgency in India (1857-1858)*, p.114.

ening out a signal defeat inflicted on the mutineers by General Nicholson's brigade gave 'the first earnest of approaching success.'¹²¹ On August 27th, John Nicholson wrote to John Lawrence: "we have been trying to get over the Sikhs, but without success'. Seize of Delhi was getting prolonged. John Lawrence urged that 'if Delhi were not speedily taken, the whole of North and Central India would be lost to our rule. Every day's delay is fraught with danger. Every day disaffection and mutiny spread. Every day adds to the dangers of native princes taking part against us. In the Punjab, we are by no means strong.'¹²² No further attempt was made by the rebels to prevent the arrival of the seize train. The seize train continued inexorably on its way in a column stretching back for eight miles. It reached Delhi on September 4th due to efforts of John Nicholson.¹²³ It consisted of 32 heavy guns and ample supplies of ammunition.¹²⁴ Many of the siege guns were so enormous especially the six giant 24 pounders that it took teams of elephants to pull them. It had an escort of 400 European infantry, a large party of Sikh Cavalry and the Baloch battalion.¹²⁵ On the 6th September, the remainder of the 60th Rifles and on 8th September the Jammu contingent led by Richard Lawrence, brother of John Lawrence, reached Delhi.¹²⁶ The siege train had been delayed because even in the Punjab, the public was slow in providing men for escorting the guns or animals for pulling the guns and for carrying food, fodder and stores.¹²⁷ For mobilizing reinforcements, every nerve had been strained to the utmost; the last available soldier had gone; and it only remained to almost the result with a trust in providence. There remained hardly more than 4000 Europeans in the Punjab of all arms.¹²⁸ General Wilson expressed his reservations about assault on Delhi. Chief Engineer Baird Smith was more emphatic, clear and decided that in war something must be risked as there was risk of further delay. The Punjab denuded of its European troops was quivering in balance. Inaction could secure the continued acquiescence of the Sikhs.¹²⁹ In John Lawrence's own words, 'the cup of the Punjab resources had been drained to the last dregs.'¹³⁰

Between September 7th and 11th, 1857, the work in trenches went briskly forward beyond the ridge. John Nicholson was growing 'fiercely impatient of Wilson's incapacity.' Nicholson held Wilson in contempt for being weak and indecisive'.¹³¹ John Nicholson joined by Chief Engineer Baird Smith urged that 'Delhi

121. Colin Campbell, *Narrative of the Indian Revolt*, p.149.

122. Lionel J. Trotter, *The Life of John Nicholson*, pp.264,266,273,278.

123. G.D. Oswell, *Sketches of Indian Rulers*, Vol.1, p.141.

124. F.R. Sedgwick, *The Indian Mutiny of 1857*, p.72.

125. William Dalrymple, *The Last Mughal*, pp.334-35.

126. G.B. Malleson, *The Indian Mutiny of 1857*, p.193.

127. Rajmohan Gandhi, *A Tale of Two Revolts: India 1857 and the American Civil War*, Penguin, New Delhi, 2009, p.121.

128. Papers relating to the Mutiny in the Punjab in 1857: *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers: 1859*, Session 1, p.15.

129. G.B. Malleson, *The Indian Mutiny of 1857*, p.194.

130. N.M. Khilnani, *The Punjab Under the Lawrences*, Punjab Govt., Simla, 1951, p.143.

131. Pramod K. Nayar, *The Great Uprising: India 1857*, p.147.

must be taken at once.' General Wilson conceded the point.¹³² John Nicholson intended to lead a coup against Wilson if he refused to order an assault. He wanted to take over the command himself.¹³³ In the latter days of the siege, available force amounted to 6500 infantry, 1000 cavalry and 600 artillery, European and natives. The siege guns numbered about 40 heavy guns and howitzers, ten heavy and twelve light mortars.¹³⁴ The total number of troops employed at the siege was 12,588 which included 3,766 Europeans. However, there were nearly 3000 men in hospitals including European and natives.¹³⁵ The storming of Delhi began on September 14, 1857 with 3000 infantry men drawn up in three columns on the ground between the ridge and Ludlow Castle under the leadership of John Nicholson. The first column of 1000, was made up from the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, the 75th Foot, and Green Punjabis i.e. the IInd Punjab Infantry. Its task was to carry the main breach and to scale the face to the Kashmir Bastion. He constantly prompted his men to attack. A heavy fire was being directed against the British forces from the Lahori Gate. So depressed was the Commander-in-Chief Archdale Wilson that he actually talked of retreating.¹³⁶ His officers pleaded him that the task was impossible. Nicholson rejected their pleas and arguments. Waving his sword high in the air, he stepped into the lane, in full view of every single sniper showing at his men to charge with him.¹³⁷ A shot fired from the Burn Bastion struck him in the back causing him to reel round. He refused to be vacated. He was brought back to the Kabal Gate and taken to the hospital in camp. In his illness, he took a very gloomy view of the future; he feared rest another might fail where he felt confident of success. He died after a week on the morning of September 23, 1857. Revd. J.E.W. Ratton conducted a simple burial service for John Nicholson. He was laid to rest in the morning of September 24th near the Ludlow Castle, opposite the Kashmiri Gate.¹³⁸ There was no death march, no martial music was heard and no volleys fired over the grave. A large crowd of Europeans, Gurkhas, Pathans and Afghans were led by the chief mourner, Neville Chamberlain, his devoted friend.¹³⁹ When the coffin had been lowered with the ground, there the men of the Multani Horse gave way. Throwing themselves on the ground, they sobbed and wept,

132. Bosworth Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, Vol. II, pp.180-81.

133. T.A. Heathcote, *Mutiny and Insurgency in India (1857-1858)*, p.115.

134. Colin Campbell, *Narrative of the Indian Mutiny*, p.158.

135. Charles John Griffiths, *A Narrative of the Siege of Delhi with an Account of the Mutiny at Ferozepur in 1857*, John Murray, London, 1910. pp.140-41.

136. William Wright, *Through the Indian Mutiny: The Memoirs of James Fairweather, 4th Punjab Native Infantry (1857-58)*, p.112.

137. Pramod K. Nayar, *The Great Uprising: India 1857*, p.150.

138. Lionel J. Trotter, *The Life of John Nicholson*, pp.279, 283, 287-88, 293-94, 304-05.

139. Saul David, *The Indian Mutiny: 1857*, p.306; See also, Herbert Strang, *Stories of the Mutiny*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1990, p.81.

They had obeyed none but him.¹⁴⁰ The troops were too exhausted by the assault and a week of street fighting for immediate pursuit. Not till the 24th September could the Column move.¹⁴¹ Sixty six officers and 1100 men had fallen.¹⁴² The effective strength of the troops at Delhi on the September 11th was 7794; by the 20th September, they had lost 1674 or 21.5 per cent.¹⁴³ This recapture of Delhi was performed by a body of 3000 British soldiers with native allies; fighting under every possible disadvantage, of numbers as well as climate. The entire loss amounted to 2151 European and 1686 Natives.¹⁴⁴ This John Lawrence admitted that without John Nicholson, Delhi could not have fallen.¹⁴⁵ When the news of the death of John Nicholson reached Lahore, John Lawrence 'burst into tears.' A granite obelisk and a small fountain below at the head of the Margalla Pass (Peshawar) near Taxila were erected in 1868 to his memory. It could be seen from long distance in all directions.¹⁴⁶ A tablet in the Church at Bannu carries the following inscription: "Gifted in mind and body, he was as brilliant in government as in arms. The snows of Ghazni attest his youthful fortitude, the songs of Punjab his manly deeds; the peace of this frontier his strong rule. The enemies of this country know how terrible he was in battle, and his friends have to recall how gentle, generous and true he was."¹⁴⁷ In April 1906, Lord Minto, the Viceroy unveiled the statue of John Nicholson with head inclined towards the Kashmiri Gate and his sword unsheathed.¹⁴⁸ In 1908, Baden-Powell in his work *Scouting for Boys*, with imperial bent of mind, celebrated heroism of John Nicholson.¹⁴⁹ The funds for John Nicholson's statue were raised 'by his surviving comrades'. Nevertheless, the money was collected and Thomas Brock R.A. was commissioned for bronze statue. In 1956, the Government of India removed it for the fear of possible repercussions during the centenary of the uprising.¹⁵⁰ It was sent to the Royal School, Dungannon, his old school in County Tyrone, Northern Ireland. One of the four houses of the Royal School is named after him.¹⁵¹

140. After John Nicholson's funeral, they were ordered to march elsewhere. However, they answered that they owed no allegiance to the English Government. They were to protect and serve Nicholson and loot Delhi. They plundered Delhi to best of their ability and went back to their homes: Reginald Wilberforce, *An Unrecorded Chapter of the Indian Mutiny*, pp.214-15.

141. Charles Aitchison, *Lord Lawrence*, p.99.

142. R. Bosworth Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, Vol. II, p.187.

143. F.R. Sedgwick, *The Indian Mutiny of 1857*, p.77.

144. H.G. Keene, *History of India from the Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century*, Vol. II, Low Price Publications, New Delhi, 1994 (First Published, 1915), p.229.

145. R. Bosworth Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, Vol. II, p.195.

146. S.M. Lalif, *History of the Punjab from the Remotest Antiquity to the Present Time*, Kalyani Publishers, New Delhi, 1994, (First Published 1889), pp.580-81.

147. [www.wikipedia.org/John Nicholson](http://www.wikipedia.org/John_Nicholson), Accessed on 29.4.2012.

148. G.D. Oswald, *Sketches of Rulers of India*, Vol. II, p.145.

149. Peter van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain*, Permanent black, New Delhi, 2006, p.90.

150. Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *The Great Uprising in India (1857-58)*, pp.196-97.

151. [www.wikipedia.org/John Nicholson](http://www.wikipedia.org/John_Nicholson), Accessed on 29.4.2012.

John Lawrence was armed with superior authority and John Nicholson was swayed by quite ungovernable restiveness.¹⁵² Like many British military officers, John Nicholson was a scion of the Anglo-Irish Protestant Ascendancy and shared their belief in the superiority of their own religion and values.¹⁵³ John Nicholson was a name 'to conjure within the Punjab'. His word was law to the refractory tribes amongst whom he lived on the frontier.¹⁵⁴ There were very few who remained immune to the hero worship of this great 'imperial psychopath'.¹⁵⁵ He was temperamental with domineering demaneour. In 1849, Henry Lawrence wrote to him: "Let me advise you as a friend to curb your temper and bear and forbear with natives and Europeans and you will soon be as distinguished a civilian as you are a soldier."¹⁵⁶ He is said to have displayed the heads of executed criminals on his desk when he administered the Punjab before the Mutiny. His utter disregard for procedure ensured massive executions of suspected mutineers. Often his heroic deeds have obscured the facts that he was extremely brutal in his treatment of natives.¹⁵⁷ He was tall, stern and looked fearless, self-reliant, fierce and masterful man, and born for stormy times and stirring events.¹⁵⁸ Reginald Wilberforce acknowledged John Nicholson's commanding presence, some six feet two inch height with a long black beard, dark gray eyes with black pupils, a colorless face, over which no smile ever passed, laconic of speech.¹⁵⁹ His character was stamped in every action of his life.¹⁶⁰ John Nicholson considered mutiny like smallpox, it spreads quickly and must be crushed as soon as possible.¹⁶¹ The ruthless policy of the British was first shown in the Punjab. The region became a British laboratory on 'how to teach Indians a lesson.'¹⁶² The British felt that the Punjab must now be held at all costs. Men were hanged for seditious conversation. There were cases when government servants were hanged for having failed in their duty to the state not for a positive act but for being lukewarm. The authorities adhered to the policy of overawing.¹⁶³ Every Indian who was not actively fighting for the British became a murderer of women and children.¹⁶⁴ In the very first days of his command, John

152. R. Bosworth Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, Vol. II, p.194.

153. T.A. Heathcote, *Mutiny and Insurgency in India (1857-1858)*, p.74.

154. Lord Roberts, *An Eye Witness Account of the Indian Mutiny*, p.33.

155. William Dalrymple, *The Last Mughal*, p.307.

156. John William Kaye, *A History of the Great Revolt*, Vol. II, p.453.

157. Pramod K. Nayar, *The Great Uprising: India, 1857*, pp. 108-09.

158. A.R.D. Mackenzie, *Mutiny Memoirs: Being Personal Reminiscences of the Great Sepoy Revolt of 1857*, (ed. Mushirul Hasan), Niyogi Books, New Delhi, 2008, (First Published 1902), pp.115-16.

159. Julian Slipsbury, *The Indian Mutiny*, p.86. See also, Reginald Wilberforce, *An Unrecorded Chapter of the Indian Mutiny*, p.25.

160. Colin Campbell, *Narrative of the Indian Revolt*, p.169.

161. John Harris, *The Indian Mutiny*, London, 1973, p.127.

162. Amaresh Misra, *War of Civilizations: India AD 1857, The Road to Delhi*, Vol. I, p.243.

163. Phillip Mason, *The Men Who Ruled India*, p.169.

164. Edward Thompson and G.T. Garratt, *Rise and Fulfillment of British Rule in India*, Central Book Depot, Allahabad, 1976, p.452.

Nicholson devised 'an effective system of intelligence.' He formed a part of his bridge into a flying Column ready to move anywhere at the shortest notice. He became famous for his marches.¹⁶⁵ He had more bloodthirsty ideas. He communicated to Herbert Edwardes when further details of the Delhi massacres had emerged. He proposed that put forward 'a bill for the flaying alive, impalement, or burning of the murderers of the (British) women and children of Delhi. When Edwardes refused to be drawn on Nicholson's idea, Nicholson said he would propose the idea alone.¹⁶⁶ Nicholson conveniently forgets that his own men murdered more than ten times the number of women and children killed by the Indians.¹⁶⁷ John Nicholson's hallmark was hanging: 'a pair of gallows each of which was adorned with six hanging mutineers, while close by were several bullock carts with sepoy who had resolved and who were waiting for their turn.'¹⁶⁸ He advised other officers to act according to circumstances. In the case of mutiny at Nurpur and Kangra, in the month of July 1857, he considered the officers on the spot 'as the best judge' to act to disarm the sepoy.¹⁶⁹ Spiritually, John Nicholson belonged to the Heroic Age when reckless courage often went with ruthless cruelty. His indomitable spirit refused to yield to fatigue and hard a ride.¹⁷⁰ He emerged as the hero-god of the British boyhood's dreams. He was more than any other man has been the prototype of the "strong, silent, God's Englishmen of fiction."¹⁷¹ John Lawrence appreciated John Nicholson's action at the Trimmu Ghat. It inflicted loss on the general cause of the mutineers in Hindustan as well as the Punjab. John Nicholson established his credentials as a commander and strategist. John Lawrence commented: "Delhi would have long since have been fallen into our hands, had the commanders in those places acted with the energy shown by Nicholson in dealing with the mutineers from Sialkot".¹⁷² It was the artillery power that gave Nicholson 'a dubious victory.' He threatened to dismiss army officers showing less 'vindictiveness'. He wanted each and every sepoy to be killed.¹⁷³ His dictum was 'the punishment of mutiny is death.' He had a power of penetrating the disguised.¹⁷⁴ John Lawrence further acknowledged John Nicholson's action at Nazafgarh: 'I wish I had the power of knighting you on the spot.'¹⁷⁵ Nicholson had expunged the word 'mercy' from his vocabulary.¹⁷⁶ He was a person who devised the butchery

165. Lionel J. Trotter, *The Life of John Nicholson*, p. 234. See also, Frederic Cooper, *Crisis in Punjab from the 10th of May until the Fall of Delhi*, p.104.

166. William Dalrymple, *The Last Mughal: The Fall of a Dynasty, Delhi, 1857*, p.197.

167. R.C. Majumdar, *The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857*, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1957, p.219.

168. Julian Slipsbury, *The Indian Mutiny*, p.85.

169. Lionel J. Trotter, *The Life of John Nicholson*, p.240.

170. S.N. Sen, *Eighteen Fifty Seven*, p.98.

171. E.P. Thompson, *The Other Side of the Medal*, pp.30,82-84.

172. Lionel J. Trotter, *The Life of John Nicholson*, p.251.

173. Amaresh Misra, *War of Civilizations: India AD 1857; The Road to Delhi*, Vol. I, p.507.

174. Reginald Wilberforce, *An Unrecorded Chapter of the Indian Mutiny*, pp.39-40.

175. Charles Aitchison, *Lord Lawrence*, p. 110.

176. William Dalrymple, *The Last Mughal*, p.199.

method to eliminate the revolting sepoys.¹⁷⁷ He was the moving spirit in a very hazardous enterprise.¹⁷⁸ Nicholson's destination was the seat of power, Delhi. His advance was marked by mass executions and ferocious skirmishes. Northern India trembled at the ferocity with which Nicholson decimated natives. To the natives, he was 'a devil apoplectic with fury at that'. He left his signature at every town: the gallows, installed as soon as Nicholson arrived at any place.¹⁷⁹ Lying injured when he was told that General Wilson thought of retiring from Delhi, he exclaimed, "Thank God, I have strength yet to shoot him (Wilson) if necessary."¹⁸⁰ The British agreed with dying hero. The British Council of War overruled General Wilson's opinion as to retreat.¹⁸¹ He was the very 'incarnate of violence.' With psychopathic temperament, he opted hanging and abandoned the practice of blowing mutineers from the mouths of cannons to save the powder. He carried gallows. Few court martials were held by Nicholson.¹⁸²

The atrocities of 1857 should be remembered lest we forget this unpleasant but inescapable truth. There may be some hope for the future if the marked realities of the grim tragedy touch our conscience.¹⁸³ His death made him a saint in the pantheon of Raj heroes. To some, the tough Nicholson was the beau ideal of a soldier. Others, then and since, have wondered if he was not a little mad.¹⁸⁴ For Rudyard Kipling, celebrated bard of the Empire, 'men sang the song in the Punjab' for decades: 'Ah! Nikal Seyn is dead, he died before Delhi! Lances of the North take vengeance for Nikal Seyn.'¹⁸⁵ He called Nicholson 'a meteor' in the Punjab.¹⁸⁶ He was considered 'beyond human praise and human reward.' He seemed especially to have been raised up for this juncture.¹⁸⁷ Priest J.E.W. Rotton paid him rich tribute; 'the startling qualities of a soldier were the qualities of Nicholson: the more his difficulties multiplied, the brighter his gifts and graces shone.'¹⁸⁸ At Delhi, he had been designated as the 'foremost man in India. His very presence added strength. His name itself was a tower of strength in the army'.¹⁸⁹ He died with the reputation of being the most successful administrator, the greatest soldier and the most per-

177. Jagmohan Singh, "John Nicholson: The Butcher of East India Company and Sialkot Mutiny", *Lahu Bhijji Dastaan* (ed. Bhupinder Singh Sandhu), Almi Punjabi Virasat Foundation, Amritsar, 2011, p.152.

178. Edward Thompson and G.T. Garrett, *Rise and Fulfillment of British Rule in India*, p.455.

179. Pramod K. Nayar, *The Great Uprising: India 1857*, p.145.

180. Reginald Wilberforce, *An Unrecorded Chapter of the Indian Mutiny*, pp.207-208.

181. V.D. Savarkar, *The Indian War of Independence: 1857*, p.341.

182. William Dalrymple, *The Last Mughal*, pp.200-201; Julian Slipsbury, *The Indian Mutiny*, p.87.

183. R.C. Majumdar, *The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857*, p.222.

184. William Wright, *Through the Indian Mutiny*, p.85.

185. Rudyard Kipling, "In the Year '57", *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, May 14, 1887.

186. Rudyard Kipling, *Kim*, OUP, New Delhi, 2004 (First published 1901), p.56.

187. Papers relating to the Mutiny in the Punjab in 1857: *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers: 1857*, Session 2, p.19.

188. Herbert Strang, *Stories of the Mutiny*, p.80.

189. Charles John Griffiths, *A Narrative of the Siege of Delhi with an Account of the Mutiny at Ferozepur in 1857*, pp.166, 199.

fect master of men in India.¹⁹⁰ The tale of atrocities demonstrates how little one can rely even upon the great English historians of the Mutiny.¹⁹¹ In such a case of remembrance, the names of John Nicholson and Frederic Cooper stand singularly. John Nicholson, with the Moving Column, organized disarming and decimation operations vigorously and violently throughout the Punjab.

190. G.B. Malleson. *The Indian Mutiny of 1857*, p.207.

191. R.C. Majumdar, *The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857*, p.222.

COOPER AND AJNALA TRAGEDY: 1857

Vishav Bandhu*

The recent excavation conducted on the historic "Kalianwala Khu" at Ajnala, near Amritsar, has unfolded another event of British brutalities committed on the Indian revolutionaries in the First War of Indian Independence in 1857. From the site, around 90 skulls, 170 intact jaws, 26 skeletons joined with skulls and more than 500 teeth were recovered from the historic well. Besides these, seventy coins of Rupee one of the British East India Company dating back to 1830-40, two British Medals, gold beads, three gold amulets, four rings, four bangles and a few bullets were also found. As many as 282 soldiers who were part of the sepoy mutiny, are believed to have been buried- some dead other alive- in the well by the British rulers. Surinder Kochar, the researcher and associated with the project for the past couple of years, told that the mortal remains of the martyrs have been kept in the Gurudwara campus in the glass cabins for the public to pay their respect.¹ According to Kochar, 'the well is twenty feet deep and they have carried out the excavation till 14 feet, as they did not find any mortal remains beyond it'. It also highlights the mindset of the British rulers, who adopted an inhuman way to dispose of those soldiers. Who had caught the wave of mutiny of 1857.

Who were these soldiers? Their identification has become a big question. According to the records, these soldiers were 26th N.I. which comprised of the *purbea* soldiers i.e. belonging to Bengal. The Gurudwara management of Ajnala wants to preserve the bodies and want that DNA should be conducted on the remains of the martyrs to ascertain their identity.² The list of the soldiers and their identity is not yet available.

Was it a chance discovery? The place of present recovered graveyard was well known and marked at that time. Mr. Amarjit Singh Sarkaria, President, Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, told during his interview to the author that the well contained a banner marking the presence of a graveyard. The fear of British wrath, perhaps kept the people silent and soon it got lost in the passing years of history. Moreover, as the remains belonged to the people of other states, and as no claim from Punjab was ever made for the dead bodies. The fact remained buried till recently excavation due to the efforts of certain private enterprisers. Aalmi Punjabi Virasat Foundation President, Bhupinder Singh Sandhu has compiled

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1. *The Tribune*, 4 March 2014, p.20.

2. As told by Amarjit Singh Sarkaria, the President, Gurudwara Management Committee, Ajnala. He also informed that the local management plans to immerse their ashes at Goindwal Sahib and Haridwar.

a book, "*Kallianwale Khu di Lahu Bhiji Dastan*". In it he has written about the incident. In the book, there is an article by Giani Heera Singh Dard, published in Kanpur based Daily in 1928. In the article, Dard has given an account of his meeting with 95 years old Jagat Singh, during his visit to Ajnala. "Jagat, who was an eye witness to the entire episode, must have been, around 25 years of age at that time. He told that the soldiers were killed by British in batches of ten. They were dumped in a well which was later filled with earth".³ The gory tale of recovered graveyard of 282 soldiers had been well defined and explained by its executor Frederic Cooper in his book '*Crisis in Punjab*' published in 1858.⁴ The purpose of the present paper is to study and analyze this tragic event from British point of view as expressed by Frederic Cooper.

The Punjab was annexed to the British Empire in 1849 and was placed under a new board of administration. It consisted of three members; Henry Lawrence (chief and in-charge of administration), John Lawrence (in-charge revenue) and Mansel (to look after judicial work. He was later replaced by Robert Montgomery). Punjab was a challenge. Governor General Lord Dalhousie was sure that, "there will never be peace in the Punjab, so long as its people are allowed to maintain means and opportunities of making war." So by a proclamation, people were ordered to surrender their arms and demolish all private fortifications and strongholds.⁵ Disarming of the entire Punjabi population had left them bereft of the means of self-defense and they had returned their old occupation, agriculture.⁶

The new appointed board tried to improve the condition of the people of the Punjab in general and particularly of the agriculturists, who were to fill the British exchequers. To please the farmers, land revenue was reduced and measures were adopted to improve irrigation and provide other agricultural facilities. For people in general new social reforms were introduced. The severest punishments were ordered for *sati*, child killing and in killing of leprosy persons. New schools and

3. *The Tribune*, 4 March 2014, p.20.

4. Frederic Cooper, *Crisis in Punjab*, p. 86. Cooper writes that at one point of time he wanted to hang all the mutineers.

5. Dr. Bir Good Gill, "The Punjab Situation", (Ed.) Navtej Singh, *Rethinking 1857 and the Punjab*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2010, p. 78. Also see Bosworth Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, vol. 1, p.262: Six months after annexation, a proclamation asking for weapons was 'everywhere placarded', though Hazara and the trans-Indus tracts were exempted. The chief aim was to recover the Sikh's arms. In response, apparently 1,20,000 weapons 'of every size and species... from the cannon or the rifle of the nineteenth century down to the bows and arrows of the time of Porus and Alexander' were surrendered.

6. Fauja Singh, *Eminent Freedom Fighters of Punjab*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1972, p. 2. Many of the Sikh dignitaries who had taken part in the fighting against the British were languishing in the prison; many others were living in humiliating condition. The Khalsa army having been disbanded, a large number of erstwhile soldiers had been driven to plough. On annexation, President Henry Lawrence and his Board built forts along the Afghan frontier and raised ten 'irregular' Punjabi regiments, five cavalry and five infantry, commanded by the Board. Remembering their bitter defeat, the Sikhs stayed aloof to begin with, but soon they too entered the new regiments.

hospitals were opened to educate and heal the common man. The people of the Punjab were witnessing and watching the new change with suspicion. They were unable to decide its merit or demerit, when the revolt broke out on 10 May 1857, "The sepoys of the Bengal Army, refusing to accept cartridges greased with pork and beef fat", rose in revolt in northern India.⁷

Intelligence of the Meerut outbreak reached Lahore. The recent laid connection between Delhi and Lahore through telegram proved fruitful, information could reach in time and prompt action could be taken.⁸ On 11th Morning, John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner, was at Rawalpindi. Montgomery, the Judicial Commissioner, the present in-charge, summoned leading officers for an emergent meeting. It was decided, that Brigadier Stuart Corbett, commanding at Meean Meer should disarm the native corps of their ammunition immediately.

At this time, the greater part of the Punjab army was at Meean Meer. As the camp of Meean Meer was very near to Lahore, the Lahore fort was allowed to be garrisoned purely by the sepoys. In the camp of Meean Meer, though the sepoys outnumbered the English soldiers 4 to 1, the English officers had no suspicion until the news from Meerut arrived, and when the news did arrive, they found it difficult to ascertain whether they were or were not secretly in communication with Meerut sepoys.

It was necessary to find out how far the spirit of national freedom had awakened among the Punjabi sepoys. A Brahmin detective was employed to ascertain the state of mind of sepoys. This Brahmin informed, "They are steeped in revolt – they are so far steeped in revolt – and so saying he put his hand to his neck." This account of Brahmin, put the officers on alert and thus decided to disarm the sepoys.

On 13th May, a council of war was held at Peshawar. General Reed assumed command in the Punjab. A Moveable Column proposed by Lt. Col. John Nicholson

7. Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologist of the Raj*, Cambridge University, Press, New Delhi, 2010, p.43.

8. Frederic Cooper, *Crisis in Punjab*, p.4: On the morning of 12th May, a terse telegram, reached Lawrence in Rawalpindi. 'Sowars from Meerut', the telegram said, 'were burning houses and killing Britons in the Mughal capital.' Another telegram quickly followed: originating in Meerut, this one spoke of Europeans killed in that city by Hindustani sepoys on 10 May. Also see; Raj Mohan Gandhi, *Punjab: A History from Aurangzeb to Mountbatten*, Aleph Publication, New Delhi, 2013, p.207: The letters of the soldiers were intercepted and plan of revolt in Punjab was discovered. "On the 13th morning, the fort at Lahore was to have been relieved. The relief party on its arrival would have doubled the strength of the native garrison; making it about 1,000 or 1200 men. The scheme they had in contemplation was to rush upon and overcome the small party of Europeans; siege the fort, the extensive magazines, the armoury, the vast treasure; whilst the remaining regiments were to seige and massacre all the Europeans of Meean Meer and Anarkali, and release the prisoners incarcerated in the central jail, some 2000 in numbers. Also see; Clare Anderson, *The Indian Uprising of 1857-58: Prisons, Prisoners and Rebellion*, Anthem Press, New Delhi, 2004, p. 2: "The mutineer rebels targeted jails during the revolt not only for practical purposes such as the acquisition of labour and supply, but also because they saw them as one of the principal instrument of colonial rule as the multiple cultural and religious transgression that multiplied."

was formed at Jhelum "ready to move on every point in the Punjab where mutiny required to be put down".⁹ On the same day, John Lawrence wrote to the Governor General Lord Canning and the Commander-in-Chief and urged the expediency of raising a large body of Sikh irregulars. He argued that European force in India is so small that it may gradually be worn down and destroyed. "We should increase our irregular troops." Lord Canning telegraphically consented the proposal.¹⁰

On the same day, a general parade was called at Meean Meer. To keep the sepoys confident in the sense of security a grand ball was given to the English residents. Before the revolutionaries could guess the secret of the parade, they were suddenly surrounded by English cavalry and artillery. It was impossible for the sepoys to see through this deceit and, when the usual parade movements were going on, the artillery were ordered to be in readiness to fire, and the confused Indian regiments were peremptorily ordered to give up their arms! the thousands sepoys indignant with rage but overawed by the strong force of artillery threw down their arms without a word, walked away to their lines.¹¹ Thus were some 2500 native soldiers disarmed in the presence of scarcely six hundred Europeans, and marched off to their lines comparatively harmless! Observed, Cave Browne, "Never was a more decisive victory gained."¹²

If there had been the slightest delay or slackness in this maneuver, within a fortnight, the whole of the Punjab would have been burning with revolution; for, the different regiments of Peshawar, Amritsar, Phillaur and Jalandhar were anxiously waiting for the moment when the sepoys of Meean Meer would attack the Lahore fort. The sepoys of the 16th, 26th and 49th Regiments of native infantry and the troopers of the 8th Light Cavalry at Meean Mir had been disarmed.

On 14th May, John Lawrence promulgated a "Mutiny Act" under the provisions of which court martials were established. Under the Act XV of 1857, the working of the Punjabi native press was put under strict control or forcibly stopped.¹³ Moreover, on the 1st June John Lawrence issued a proclamation to the

9. S.M. Latif, *History of Punjab*, Kalyani Publishers, New Delhi, 1994 (First Published 1889), p.578.

10. J.W.Kaye, *History of Sepoy War in India, 1857-58*, Vol.I, W.H. Allen, London, 1880, p.614: When the news spread that the English had disarmed the Meean Meer sepoys and had taken the Lahore fort, English prestige gained deal of ground in the Punjab. "Had the Punjab gone, we must have been ruined. Long before the reinforcement could have reached the upper province, the bones of all Englishmen would have been bleaching in the sun. England could never have recovered the calamity and retrieved her power in the East".

11. V.D. Savarkar, *The Indian war of Independence 1857*, Rajdhani Granthagar, New Delhi, 1970, p. 14: The rumour arose that the sepoys, disarmed at Meean Meer, were going towards Amritsar to take Gobindgarh. The English perceived the danger, requested the Jats and the Sikh peasants to protect Amritsar! This request was acceded to by these loyal traitors, and the fort of Amritsar like that of Lahore, fell into English hands. Before the 15th of May, the two towns of Lahore and Amritsar were kept, at least for the time being, from joining the revolution.

12. Surendra Nath Sen, *Eighteen Fifty Seven*, The Publication Division, Government of India, Calcutta, 1958, p. 328.

13. Dolores Domin, *India in 1857-59*, p.129.

Hindustani soldiers of the Bengal Army: "Those segments which now remain faithful will receive the rewards due to their constancy. Those who fall away now will lose their service for ever."¹⁴

Hardly a month and half had passed in peace, when the news of revolt on 30th July, reached the headquarters that the disarmed regiment of 26th native infantry stationed at Meean Meer had revolted. They killed the commanding officer, Major Spencer, Lieutenant Montague White and the Sergeant- Major and fled. It was discovered that Parkash Singh, alias Parkash Pandey had started the revolt by killing the Major, and asked his comrades to rise and kill the *firangees*.

It was taken for granted that the fugitives must flee southwards and accordingly captain Blgrave proceeded along with a strong party to Hurrike *ghat* (near to which Sabraon battle was fought) and from Amritsar Lieutenant was dispatched to support the captain. But the intelligence received that the mutineers had turned to north in hope of getting to Kashmir.¹⁵ On 31st July, it was reported that the mutineers of Meean Meer were trying to cross river Ravi. A rapid pursuit was at once organized. As soon as the outbreak occurred, one of the first measures adopted by Cooper was to provision the Gobindgarh fort of Amritsar. Mr. Mac Naghten, Assistant Commissioner at the same time went out on the Lahore road to raise the country, (a part of Majha) against any deserters who might come by.¹⁶ The government announced rewards for those who helped in capturing the deserters.

On 31st July, the mutineers of Meean Meer ran away and appeared on the left bank of Ravi near Balghat and enquired from the villagers for the safe passage. The people's most curious attention was aroused. They amused the sepoy for a few hours for various pretences, while runners hastened away to the neighbouring Tehsil of Ajnala and Amritsar. Prem Nath, Tehsildar of Ajnala, quickly brought down every policeman he had and it was found that these men were the native of 26th native infantry who had mutinied the previous day at Lahore, and, after committing four murders had traveled across country, off the main lines of communication, 40 miles in 19 hours. A fight ensued: 150 men fell under the

14. S.N. Sen, *Eighteen Fifty Seven*, pp.334-35.

15. Frederic Cooper, *Crisis in Punjab*, p. 84: "My Dear Cooper, —You may not have heard, as you have no electric telegraph station, that the troops at Meerut and Delhi have risen, and the Europeans, are defending their lives as well as they can—as yet it is not known with what results. But the city of Delhi is in a very excited state, and the communication between Delhi and Meerut is cut off. It is expected that the troops at Ambala, who have shown great disaffection, will rise, and we must expect the rebellion to spread. The native troops here are not well affected, and we may have to fight for our lives. My object is to write and put you on your guard. Communicate with the commanding officer Care for Gobindgarh, and it may be necessary to remove the sepoy from there. My advice then is to be fully alive, and awake and prepared for the worst, without creating any alarm by any open act. If the troops should rise, you have the fort to go to, and can defend yourselves. Let me or Roberts hear constantly as to the feeling of all troops, people, &c., &c.17

16. *Punjab District Gazetteers Amritsar*, The Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore, 1914, p. 22.

resolution of the villagers and the police. By 4 p.m. Mr. Cooper arrived with about 80 horse accompanied by Sardar Jodh Singh, Extra Assistant, an old Sikh chieftain. The Mutineers had escaped by a ford to an island in mid-stream. They were captured and executed next morning, 45 having died during the night from fatigue and exhaustion. Our critical position at this time justified the awful punishment of these mutineers, 237 in numbers. About 42 subsequently captured were sent back to Lahore, and there, by sentence of court martial, blown from guns in presence of the whole brigade.¹⁷

Cooper informs that 'Ten by ten sepoy were called forth. Their names having been taken down in succession, they were pinioned, linked together and marched to execution; a firing party being in readiness.¹⁸ About 150 having been thus executed, one of the executioner swooned away (he was the oldest of the firing party) and a little respite was allowed. Then proceeding, the number had arrived at 237; when the district officer was informed that the remainder refused to come out of the bastion, where they had been imprisoned temporarily a few hours before. Expecting a rush and resistance, preparations were made against escape; but little expectations was entertained of the real and awful fate which had fallen on the remainder of the mutineers; they had anticipated by a few short hours their doom. The doors were opened, and, behold! They were nearly all dead. Unconsciously the tragedy of Holwell's Black Hole had been re-enacted. He asserted "There is a well at Kanpur, but there is also at Ajnala."¹⁹

John Lawrence praised Cooper for his action.²⁰ The mindset of the British officers at that can be further understood from the letter of Robert Montgomery. He wrote to Cooper, "I congratulate you very heartily on your success. There will be some straggler; have them all picked up, and any you get send us now. You have had slaughtered enough. We want a few for the troops here, and also for evidence".

The praise showered by the British officers on the misdeed of Cooper at the time of crisis can be understood. But once the situation became normal and threat of mutiny passed away, the opinions of many changed. Cooper, who considered and projected his action as a heroic deed, comparing it to 'Black Hole

17. *Punjab District Gazetteers Amritsar*, The Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore, 1914, p.22.

18. Frederic Cooper, *Crisis in Punjab*, p. 86. Cooper writes that at one point of time he wanted to hang all the mutineers.

19. Frederic Cooper, *Crisis in Punjab*, p. 90.

20. Frederic Cooper, *Crisis in Punjab*, p. 90: He wrote; from Lahore, 2nd August, 1857, "My dear Cooper, I congratulate you on your success against the 26th N.I. You and your police acted with much energy and spirit and deserve, and deserve well of the State. I trust the fate of these sepoy will operate as a warning to others. Every effort should be exerted to glean up all who are yet at large". Your's John Lawrence. "In his proclamation on the subject, the Chief Commissioner wrote, "It is fervently hoped that the signal and summary punishment which has overtaken this corpse may deter all others from committing the atrocious and wanton murders which has disgraced the name of Bengal sepoy".

tragedy' was perhaps waiting for a big reward which never came to him. Raj Mohan Gandhi writes, 'even top British officials disapproved of the August 1857 killing. They termed it as Ajnala cruelties'.²¹ John Lawrence, later in his life disagreed with Cooper's doing.²²

The gory act of Cooper cannot be justified under any pretext. He himself was aware of its consequences and he tried to defend it. His perception becomes clear when he himself clarifies that his action might be read strangely at home. He writes, 'a single Anglo- Saxon, supported by a section of Asiatic, undertaking so tremendous a responsibility, and coldly presiding over so memorable execution, without the excitement of the battle, or a sense of individual injury, to imbue the proceedings with the faintest hue of vindictiveness'. He further adds, "England expected every man to do his duty, and that duty done, thanks them warmly for doing it. The crime was mutiny and had there even been no murders to darken the memory of these men, the law was exact. The punishment was death".²³ In case of Black Hole tragedy, the officers had made an excuse of white women rape, killing of children and innocent officers by the mutineers. In Punjab, no such situation ever existed, so Mr. Cooper projected the threat of revolt which was uncalled for.

21. *The Tribune*, 8 March, 2014, p.4. Also see, Raj Mohan Gandhi, *Punjab: A History from Aurangzeb to Mountbatten*, Aleph Publication, New Delhi, 2013, p. 208.

22. Robert Montgomery, who had earlier praised the action of Cooper, later regretted the style of Cooper narrative.

23. Frederic Cooper, *Crisis in Punjab*, p. 87.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE HINDU MAHASABHA TOWARDS QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PUNJAB

Vikram Singh*

In this paper an attempt has been made to examine the attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha towards Quit India Movement with special reference to Punjab. Though the Hindu Mahasabha was established in 1909 but it played its political role after 1920. Its objective was "To promote brotherly feelings amongst the various sections of the Hindu Community; to help destitute and disabled Hindus; to act as trustees of such properties as may be entrusted to the Sabha for charitable, religious, educational and other purposes; to improve the moral intellectual and material condition of the Hindus; to protect, promote and represent the interests of the Hindu Community; to help the establishment of similar Sabha in other important towns"¹. The Sabha affirmed its principle that it would have no connection with any political body.

The Punjab was a Muslim majority province. The Hindus were in a minority in the province. They started to think about their future and realized the necessity of a organization to protect their interests. Moreover the Hindu leaders thought that the Congress leaders were following the policy of appeasing Muslims. Lala Lajpat Rai himself observed in 1901 in the "*Hindustan Review*" that there was a necessity of a Hindu political or semi-political conference which could direct the growing consciousness of the leading Hindus of the Punjab. Thus the Punjab Provincial Hindu Sabha came into existence².

After the formation of Punjab Provincial Hindu Mahasabha many Hindu leaders realized that an All India Hindu organization should be formed. In December, 1910 prominent Hindu leaders hold a meeting at Allahabad and decided to form an All India Hindu Mahasabha with its headquarter at Allahabad³. The first session of the Hindu Sabha was held at Haridwar in the same year under the Presidentship of Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy of Cossim bazar, Bengal. Sukhbir Singh of the Punjab became its first General-Secretary, but it was registered on December 13, 1917 at Lucknow under the Societies Registration Act⁴.

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1. Mitra, N. N., *The Indian Annual Register*, January-June, 1941, p. 276.

2. Indra Prakash, *Hindu Mahasabha: its Contribution in India's Politics*, Delhi, 1966, p.10.

3. *Ibid.*, p.13.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. v-vi.

In April 1921, the name was changed to All India Hindu Mashasabha from All India Hindu Sabha at a meeting held at Haridwar. Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya was the person who practically laid the foundation of the present Hindu Sanghthan movement of the Mahasabha at a special conference of the Hindu Mahasabha held at Gaya in 1922⁵.

A special session of the Hindu Mahasabha was held in December 1924 at Belgaon under the presidentship of Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya; Congress leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, C. R. Dass, Pt. Moti Lal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai and even the Ali Brothers attended the session. Important subjects on which the conference passed the resolutions were the removal of untouchability and the growing dissatisfaction among the Hindus against the Congress policy with regards to the demands of the Muslims for separate electorates⁶.

The Hindu Mahasabha welcomed the Simon Commission which was rejected and boycotted by other political parties. It approved the recommendations of the Simon Commission which were short of even what was conceded in the Government of India Act, 1935. While the main slogan during the days of non-cooperation movement was "Swaraj in one year", and later the National Congress put complete independence its main demand in 1929, the Hindu Mahasabha leaders demanded simply self-government within the British Empire to be achieved within the next 20 years. It gave the slogan of responsive co-operation with the British Government⁷.

During the World War II, the Hindu Mahasabha followed a pro-war policy and ultimately pro-British attitude. After the passage of the Wardha Resolution, N.C. Chatterjee, working President of Bengal Hindu Mahasabha stated that the Indians should quit non-violence and take to disciplined militarization which will make India free and keep her independence safe against all wicked aggressors and enemies of human freedom⁸. On September 10, 1939 the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha passed a resolution on the war situation. It declared that the task of defending India from any military attack was of common concern to the British Government as well as the Indians⁹. It wanted "to introduce full responsible Government at the Centre; to redress the grievous wrongs done to the Hindus by the communal decision, both at the Centre and the provinces, particularly in Bengal and the Punjab where they have been reduced to the position of fixed statutory minority contrary to all principles of Democracy; to inspire the people of India to feel instinctively that the Indian Army will be the Army of the people of India; and lastly to remove artificial distinction of the so-called enlisted and not enlisted

5. Indra Prakash, *op. cit.*

6. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

7. Gupta, N. L., *Hindu Mahasabha: Role and Legacy in Secular-Democracy*, Vol. 5, New Delhi, 1972, p. 119.

8. *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. II, 1942, p. 9 (Statement on 20 July, 1942).

9. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, January-June, 1941, p. 278.

classes, that is, the material and non-material classes for complete Indianization of the Indian Army as early as possible¹⁰.

The open session of the Hindu Mahasabha held at Madras from December 28-30, 1940 became a turning point when prominent personalities of India like Dr. B.S. Moonjee, S. P. Mukerjee, N. C. Chatterjee, Bhai Parmanand, Hari Ram Sath, V. V. Kalekar and Sir Gokul Chand Narang etc. attended. In this session the Hindu Mahasabha condemned the attitude of the British Government in not making a clear announcement of its opposition to the scheme of Pakistan inspite of the repeated declarations that were made by the Muslim League and its leaders that Pakistan was the only solution of the communal problem in India and that it would do everything in its power to secure their demand of Pakistan. The Hindu Mahasabha, in a resolution, urged upon the British Government the necessity of making a clear declaration about the scheme of Pakistan¹¹.

The leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha warned the British Government that if it failed to make satisfactory response to this demand before March 31, 1941 the Mahasabha would start 'direct action'. It also appointed a committee for this purpose which consisted of V. D. Savarkar, S. P. Mukerjee, B.S. Moonjee, G.S. Kharparade and V. G. Deshpande¹². There was no response from the British side.

The Cripps Mission arrived in India on March 23, 1942 with certain proposals from the British Cabinet. The proposals envisaged the creation of a new Indian Union which would constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom immediately after the cessation of hostilities. Secondly, the scheme granted the right to any province in British India to secede from the Union.

Cripps interviewed important Indian leaders of public opinion and discussed his scheme with them. Accompanied by Dr. B. S. Moonjee, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, Sir Jwalaprasad Srivastava and Lala Ganpat Rai, V. D. Savarkar had a memorable interview with Cripps. Though the first part of the Cripps scheme was acceptable to V. D. Savarkar, he roundly condemned in the interview the second part of the scheme which virtually conceded Pakistan by granting the right of secession to the provinces under the name of self-determination. The Working Committee of the Mahasabha which was immediately held on April 30, 1942 regarding the Cripps scheme reasserted in its resolution that in view of developments of political situation in the world nothing short of an immediate and unconditional declaration of India's independence could animate and enthuse the whole country to mobilise its full and willing fighting strength, both in men and material, to fight out the war which then would have been their concern as truly as it was in the case of the British people¹³.

10. *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. II, 1942, p. 9 (Statement on 20 July, 1942).

11. Mitra, N. N., *The Indian Annual Register*, Vol. II, December, 1940, pp. 275-276.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Mitra, N. N., *The Indian Annual Register*, Vol. II, December, 1942, p. 261.

It was also decided by Hindu Mahasabha that an "anti-Pakistan day" should be observed throughout India by the Hindus on May 10, 1942 the day of the anniversary of the National rising of 1857 which had been annually celebrated by the Hindu Mahasabha as the Independence Day. Accordingly this day was observed throughout India under the auspices of the Hindu Mahasabha with great enthusiasm.

Meanwhile, the Congress Working Committee passed the Quit India resolution at Wardha on July 14, 1942 which was endorsed by A.I.C.C. on August 8, 1942. The Hindu Mahasabha decided on August 2, 1942 at Poona that if the Congress accepted certain conditions then Mahasabha might help the Congress in the movement. The leading conditions were: The Indian National Congress must give the Hindu Mahasabha and the Hindus of Hindustan a guarantee to fight against Pakistan; to stand by the unity of India; states representation by population proportion alone; services to go by merit alone; allegiance to the strong Central Government and no toleration of extra-territorial ambitions and designs; the recognition of the Hindu Mahasabha as a representative Hindu body and consequently to take no steps regarding special Hindu rights without its sanctions¹⁴.

Since the Congress was not prepared to accept these conditions, there was no co-operation between the two¹⁵. The Congress refused to have anything to do with these conditions. The climax came when Gandhi ji wrote a letter to reassure Jinnah of his readiness to handover the whole Government of India including the Indian States to the Muslim League. The relevant passage from the letter is: "In all sincerity let me explain it again that if the Muslim League co-operated with the Congress for immediate independence, subject to course to the provision that independent India will permit the operations of the Allied armies in order to check Axis Aggression and thus to help China and Russia, the Congress will have no objection to the British Government transferring all the powers it exercises today to the Muslim League on behalf of the whole of India... The Congress will not only obstruct any Government which the Muslim League may form on behalf of the people, but will even join the Government. This is meant in all seriousness and sincerity"¹⁶. Such a complete and unconditional offer made by Gandhi Ji to the Muslim league was not acceptable to the Hindu Mahasabha. They regarded it as the climax of appeasement of Muslims on the part of Congress in general and Gandhi ji in particular.

As a matter of fact, V. D. Savarkar called upon the Hindus to give "no support to Congress move"¹⁷ because he considered the Quit India resolution a sin. He stated that the movement was "most untimely, muddled, self-contradictory and ill-fated"¹⁸. He further stated that the deadlock would be resolved by declaring India a free and equal partner in the British Commonwealth. He advocated the

14. *Ibid.*, p. 263.

15. *The Nationalist*, October 31, 1945.

16. Quoted by Bakshi, S. R., *Congress and Quit India Movement*, New Delhi, 1986, p. 180.

17. *Times of India*, September 11, 1942.

18. Vir Savarkar's statement on 13 August, 1944, B.S. Moonjee Papers, F.No. 29/1939/45.

Indianisation of the Viceroy's Council whose decision was to be binding on the Viceroy except in relation to military and strategical matters¹⁹. The working committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in its meeting on August 3, 1942, emphasized the necessity for the solution of the Indian deadlock and mobilization of the public opinion in support of "national demand". It also constituted a sub-committee under the Chairmanship of S. P. Mookerjee to carry out negotiations with the "leaders of the principal political parties as well as representatives of the British Government"²⁰. In his interview with the Viceroy of India, Lord Linlithgow, S. P. Mookerjee stressed the need for the establishment of a national government and declaration of India as a free country. But the British Government did not care for these leaders. The Viceroy of India held that none among these leaders matters, though they were all respectable persons. It was M. A. Jinnah, who among the Muslims mattered²¹.

Thus it will be seen that the Hindu Mahasabha's attitude was not only non-cooperating with the Quit India movement but openly opposing it, largely because of Congress failure to protect Hindu interests and its policy of appeasement towards the Muslims, contributed a great deal in further rendering the movement weak in the country in general and in the Punjab in particular. We should remember that the Hindus were in a minority in a Muslim majority province. The Hindu Mahasabha working actively and vigorously for the protection of Hindu interests had secured considerable strength and following in the Punjab. Consequently the Indian National Congress in the province was already weak and divided. The appeal of the leaders of Hindu Mahasabha to keep themselves away from the movement made the task of the Congress all the more difficult.

The prominent leaders of the Punjab Hindu Mahasabha were Bhai Parmanand, Raja Narendra Nath, Gokul Chand Narang, Harish Chandra and Lala Narain Dutta etc. A meeting of the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Hindu Mahasabha was held on 30th July 1942 under the Presidentship of Bhai Parmanand, and it passed a resolution demanding that the meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha should be held at once to consider about the political situation of India²². The Punjab Provincial Hindu Mahasabha followed the policy of the All India Hindu Mahasabha and kept aloof from the Congress Movement.

However, later on when governmental repression increased, the attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha underwent a little change. It became critical of the policy of the government. The Bombay Hindu Mahasabha passed a resolution on August 16, 1942 condemning "the policy of repression which has been launched by the Government of India without exploring the possibilities of an honourable

19. H. D. Pöhl. (I) F. No. 18/8/1942 (F.N.R.. from Bombay, for the 2nd half of August, 1942.

20. *Times of India*, September 1, 1942.

21. Linlithgow to Amery, 14 September 1942, Mansergh (ed.), *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. II, p. 961.

22. Hindu Mahasabha Papers, F.No. C-40, 1942-44, p. 212.

settlement"²³. The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha again condemned the wholesale burning and looting of Hindu Villages, raping of Hindu women, and other acts of cruelty committed by the police and military, especially in the U.P., the C.P. and Bihar. It further stated that if these allegations were true, "their savagery and heinousness appear to be on par with those reported to have been committed by Germany and Japan on the people of territories subjected by them"²⁴. It also appointed an enquiry committee which was authorized to further appoint provincial enquiry committees to investigate and inquire into the allegations and collect accurate facts²⁵. It condemned the imposition of collective fines as "communal vindictiveness" and "unjust and immoral". This policy of the Government was said to be responsible for "creating communal hatred and racial animosity"²⁶.

As the repression increased further S.P. Mookerjee resigned the finance ministership of Bengal in protest against the police terror in Midnapore on November 20, 1942. He held a press conference in which he explained that India could no longer be governed by a policy of mere repression. The deadlock of India could only be solved if the Government decided to part with power in accordance with a well adjusted scheme to fight the enemy and that the initiative for solving the deadlock should come directly from the British Government itself. The Hindu Mahasabha leaders made it clear that it was opposed to any proposal for vivisection of India. This stand was not taken in the interests of the Hindus only but in the interests of India as a whole²⁷. N. R. Sarkar and M.S. Aney resigned their membership of the Viceroy's council at the time of fast undertaken by Mahatma Gandhi in February 1943. Although the Hindu Mahasabha was critical of the ways of Gandhi ji, yet its Working Committee met at Delhi on February 13, 1943 and passed a resolution demanding Gandhi's release to save his precious life²⁸. The Punjab Hindu Mahasabha also condemned the British Government's policy of suppression and large-scale arrest of leaders. It also demanded release of Gandhi when he had undertaken the historic fast.

Thus the Punjab Hindu Mahasabha remained away from Quit India Movement. It saw the Congress movement from their own angle and perspective. The Hindu Mahasabha called upon the Hindus to give "no support to Congress move" because it considered the Quit India Resolution a sin. It stated that the movement was "most untimely, muddled, self contradictory and ill-fated"²⁹.

23. H. D. Poll (I) F.No. 18/8/42 (F.N.R. From Bombay, for the second half of August, 1942).

24. Home Dep't. Poll. (I), F.No. 3/5/1942, p. 1.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*

27. All India Hindu Mahasabha Papers, F.No. C-34, pp.7-8.

28. All India Hindu Mahasabha Papers, F.No. C-43, p. 247.

29. Hindu Mahasabha Papers, F.No. C-40, 1942-44, p. 212.

THE SANATAN DHARM PRATINIDHI SABHA PUNJAB : ORGANIZATION, INSTITUTIONS AND CONCERNS

*Sheena Pall**

The focus of this paper is the Sanatan Dharm Pratinidhi Sabha Punjab, the first Punjabi organization of the Sanatanists in the twentieth century. This discussion will cover the organizational structure, concerns and programmes of the Pratinidhi Sabha. This discussion is based on primary source materials. The Sanatanist source used is an annual report of the Sanatan Dharm Pratinidhi Sabha Punjab. Other contemporary sources include archival materials and newspapers.

With the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, a new administrative structure, western education and science and technology were introduced bringing about changes in all spheres of life. The Christian missionaries were the first to introduce new forms of religious organization and action in India as 'structured societies' with formal membership, written rules, and weekly meetings. They were strengthened by the British Indian Government through 'laws granting legal recognition'. All other religious communities in India founded Sabhas, Anjumans, and Samajes, each with its own constitution and byelaws, publishing annual reports. These bodies purchased property, built places of worship, schools, orphanages, widow homes, reading rooms, homes for aged cows, dispensaries and hospitals. They also made use of the printing press to issue their own newspapers, journals, tracts and books. Funds were collected with innovative means, and the money collected was suitably utilized and invested.

In the late nineteenth century the Sanatanists set up numerous institutions but these were uncoordinated and without a core organization. The Bharat Dharm Mahamandal emerged as a central organization for the network of Sanatan Dharm Sabhas which had been established in the Punjab and the North Western provinces in the late 1880s. However, after 1902 the Bharat Dharm Mahamandal became increasingly ineffective in the Punjab. Soon after, a central coordinating institution of the Sanatanists, the Sanatan Dharm Pratinidhi Sabha Punjab was founded.

A conference of Sanatan Dharmis of the Punjab was held at Lahore in 1917 to organize the Sanatanists. An association called the Sanatan Dharm Pratinidhi Sabha Punjab was established at Lahore. The Pratinidhi Sabha began to set up local Sabhas, high schools and *pathshalas*. However, this work does not appear to have gone far. A Sanatan Dharm Conference was held at Sargodha in 1923 to

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rejuvenate the Pratinidhi Sabha. Pandit Din Dayalu Sharma, a well-known Sanatanist leader, presided over this conference. Elections were held all afresh and Malik Mathura Dass was elected as its President. Goswami Ganesh Dutt was elected as its General Secretary. As he belonged to Lyallpur, the office of the Pratinidhi Sabha was set up there. ¹

Significantly, the number of Sabhas increased from 110 to over 200 in 1923. A conference of the Pratinidhi Sabha was convened at Rawalpindi in November 1924. Nearly 1500 delegates attended this conference and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya presided over it. In November 1925, when a conference of the Pratinidhi Sabha was held at Lahore on the invitation of Rai Bahadur Ram Saran Dass and Principal Raghuwar Dayal, Maharajadhiraj Rana Dholpur was the General President. This conference was attended by about 8,000 delegates. The Maharaja of Patiala, the Maharaja of Mandi, Governor of the Punjab, Sir Malcolm Hailey, and the Chief Justice Sir Shadi Lal came for this conference. For the conference of the Pratinidhi Sabha at Multan, held in December 1926, Maharajadhiraj of Alwar was the General President and nearly 20,000 delegates attended. The Maharaja of Alwar and the Maharaja of Darbhanga gave generous donations. ²

The annual report of the Pratinidhi Sabha Punjab for the year 1928 gives some idea of its constitution. Apart from a number of patrons, the Sabha had a General President, a President, a Vice-President, a General Secretary, a Secretary, an accountant and an auditor. It had nine departments, each managed by a Secretary (*mantri*). Another important office was that of the Dalpati who headed the Mahabir Dal. The patrons of the Sabha consisted of chiefs, aristocrats, government officials and heads of religious institutions. Like the office-bearers, they were elected at the annual meeting of the Pratinidhi Sabha, held generally in March. The Pratinidhi Sabha had a core committee (*atrang*) and an executive committee (*karyakarini*) to conduct its activities in accordance with its rules and regulations (*neeyamawali*).³

The work of the departments of the Pratinidhi Sabha related to administration (*karyalaya*), propaganda (*prachar*), education (*siksha*), temple reform (*mandir sudhar*), publicity (*samachar*), religious learning (*vidhat*), the youth, *dalits* (*anthyojodhar*), and the Mahabir Dal. ⁴ All the nine departments were not of equal importance. Nor do we have adequate information on all of them. About the 'youth societies' all that we know is that they were established in

1. *Annual Report of Shri Sanatan Dharm Pratinidhi Sabha Punjab*, Lahore: Goswami Ganesh Dutt, 1928, pp. 2, 3. For Pandit Din Dayalu Sharma, see, Sheena Pall, 'Din Dayalu Sharma: The Formative Phase of the Sanatana Dharma Movement in late Nineteenth Century North India', *Indian History Congress Proceedings*, 63rd Session, Kolkata: Kolkata University, 2003, pp. 1012-20. For Goswami Ganesh Dutt, see, Sheena Pall, 'Goswami Ganesh Dutt: The Sanatan Dharm Movement in the Colonial Punjab', *Journal of Regional History*, vol. XV, Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 2009, pp. 69-81.
2. *Annual Report of Shri Sanatan Dharm Pratinidhi Sabha Punjab*, 1928, pp. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 16, 17, 19, 20.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

order to influence the Hindu youth in Sanatanist ways.

The primary function of the administrative department was to coordinate the activities of the Pratinidhi Sabha. The administrative department assigned duties to individuals for *prachar* and other kinds of work. Meetings of the various committees were called and their recommendations were sought to be implemented. The department communicated with associated Sabhas and tried to meet their requirements. It was responsible for the collection of funds and their proper use; a detailed account of income and expenditure was maintained to be properly audited. In addition, we find the department approaching the law courts to protect the rights of Sanatanist individuals and institutions. Protests were made by the department against any bill or proposal if it appeared to hurt the interests or the religious sentiments of the Sanatanists.⁵

The department for *prachar* had six branch offices: one each at Ambala, Amritsar, Ferozepore, Rawalpindi, Mianwali and Multan. Whenever the programme in a particular area extended over a period of time, temporary branch offices were set up for easy accessibility for *pracharaks*. The object of *prachar* was to make Hindus aware of their ancient religion and to get rid of the shortcomings in their social and religious life. They were aware that the purpose of their *prachar* was to obviate the influence of the radical reformers. Sanatanist *pracharaks* went to other provinces and the Indian states, and even to other countries like Afganistan, Malaya, British East Africa and Fiji where Hindus were settled. To reach larger numbers the *pracharaks* used the occasions of fairs and festivals. For this purpose, they used the modes of *katha*, *kirtan*, lecture and *bhajan*.⁶

The department for the reform of temples made efforts to revive old temples, construct new ones and to protect them. Important among the new temples constructed was the Lakshmi Narayan Temple midst the Durgiana *sarovar* in Amritsar in 1924. Though the donation came from Seth Nathushahji Rangwale, the temple was managed by a registered committee. Its President was a Member of the Punjab Legislative Council, Lala Keshav Lal. Generally with regard to disagreements about temples, the Pratinidhi Sabha was of the view that they should not be taken to the courts. Instead, they should be resolved in Sanatan Dharm Panchayats.⁷

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 20. The main sources of income were donations and special deputations for collection of funds, they accounted for over sixty per cent of the total income. Among the other sources were funds received from the Sabhas on different accounts, charity received on the occasion of marriages and *kathas*, and fees from educational institutions. About sixty per cent of the total expenditure was on salaries, travelling allowance, and publicity. Among the other items of expenditure were running of a central office and sub-offices, free kitchen (*langar*), stipends given to widows, deputations sent for *prachar*, activities of Mahabir Dal, and work for the *dalits*, pp. 161, 162.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 31, 32, 41, 42, 43, 47, 49, 56.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 133, 134. The *Mahurat* of the Durgiana *sarovar* was done at Amritsar by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in 1924. A temple reform bill was prepared by Professor Gulshan Rai to be presented in the Council for the approval of the government.

The primary objective of the department for the betterment of *dalits* was to obviate their conversion to other religions, like Christianity and Islam. Significantly, the report mentions Ad-Dharm as a rival faith.⁸ The *dalits* were also warned against being misled by others who tried to win them over by offering money, food, and other kinds of inducements. The department had its own *updeshtaks* and *bhajniks* for *prachar* among *dalits*. They were not supposed to have any contact with other *updeshtaks* and *bhajniks*. Separate temples were constructed for the *dalits*. Wherever the *dalits* had difficulties of access to water, wells were dug for them. Separate *pathshalas* were set up for their children. The *dalits* were advised to keep a knot (*choti*) on their heads, observe fasts, perform marriage and death rituals according to Brahmanical conventions, and to abstain from drinking alcohol, eating meat, and gambling.⁹

The publicity department of the Pratinidhi Sabha reported the activities of the Sabhas, conferences, and celebrations. It advertised the programmes of *prachar*. Allegations of opponents were refuted and their excesses were highlighted. For the propagation of Sanatanist ideas and objectives, articles were published in various newspapers and periodicals, either in their own, like the *Bhism* and the *Akhbar-i Am* in Lahore, the *Sanatan Dharm Pracharak* in Amritsar, the *Mahabir* in Delhi, the *Jagrit* in Lyallpur, and the *Bharatmitra* in Calcutta, or in others like the *Sudarshan*, the *Hindu Herald* and *The Tribune* in Lahore, the *Hindu Sansar* in Delhi, and the *Bangbasi* in Calcutta. It was the function of the department to keep the government informed of the needs and demands of the Pratinidhi Sabha.¹⁰

The Vidhat Parishad was meant to organize discussion of important or controversial subjects by learned scholars. A major objective of such meetings and seminars was to refute the criticism of opponents regarding sacred scriptures. As an essential part of this concern, books related to *Shruti*, *Smriti* and the *Purans* were edited and published. Books written by other scholars were approved for use in *prachar*. Books for religious instruction in Sanatan Dharm schools and *pathshalas* were also prepared. Sanatanist scholars sought to create awareness among the common people about religious fasts, festivals and rituals through their books and essays. Since ritual was all important, correct time and date of festivals and fasts were advertised in newspapers.¹¹

The Pratinidhi Sabha attached great importance to *katha* and the observance of festivals. Kathas were organized in more than two hundred towns, with the help of the local Sanatan Dharm Sabhas. The themes taken up for *katha* were selected from the *Vedas*, *Shastras* and the *Puranas*. Apart from *katha vachaks*, the *pujaris* of *mandirs*, religious instructors of schools, and *pracharaks* performed

8. For Ad Dharm see Mark Juergensmeyer, 'Ad Dharm', *Precolonial and Colonial Punjab: Society, Economy, Politics and Culture*, eds., Reeta Grewal and Sheena Pall, Manohar, New Delhi, 2005, pp. 393-408.

9. *Annual Report of Shri Sanatan Dharm Pratinidhi Sabha Punjab*, 1928, pp. 135, 136.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 144.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 145, 146.

katha in local temples and halls. The local Sabhas were asked to celebrate festivals in accordance with the Shastras as interpreted by the Sabha. *Pracharaks* were sent overseas to organize festivals like the Basant Panchmi, Holi, Nirjala Ekadshi, Vyas Puja, Shivratri, Deepmala, Ram Naumi, Gita Jayanti and Janamastami. Rakhis made of *mauli* were recommended for use on the Raksha Bandhan day. The birth anniversaries of the figures like Shivaji and Maharana Pratap were celebrated. Vir Bairagi (Banda Bahadur) began to be treated as a Hindu martyr.¹²

The Pratinidhi Sabha developed interest in fairs. Among the places mentioned are Kataj Raj, Ram Chautra, Chintpurni, Ram Tirath, and Chiniot. The fair at Kurukshetra held at the time of the solar eclipse was the most important.¹³ On these fairs, lectures were delivered by *upadeshaks*, *bhajniks* and learned scholars of the Sabha. They participated in *shastrarth* as well. Discussed at these debates generally were rituals like the *shradha*, the practice of idol worship, the belief in avatars, the status of the *Purans* and the *Ramayan*, and the position of Brahmans in the *varna* order. The *Satyarth Prakash* also was a subject of debate.¹⁴

The workers of the Pratinidhi Sabha clashed with the Arya Samajists during the course of *prachar* at several places in the districts of Hissar, Rohtak, Sialkot and Jhelum. They had skirmishes with the Akalis at places like Attock, Rawalpindi, Kohat, Sialkot and Lyallpur. It is important to note that the Akalis were opposed to the Sanatanist claim that the ten Gurus of the Sikhs were Sanatan Dharmis and that they had given the *upadesh* of Sanatan Dharm from the Darbar Sahib. There was also a dispute about a place which according to the Akalis was a Gurdwara. The Sanatanists clashed with the Muslims for opening a slaughter house and for converting *chamars* to Islam in the districts of Gurgaon, Sheikhpura and Ferozepore. Significantly, the Sanatanists had a confrontation with Ramdas, the Vaishnava Mahant of Pindori, who claimed to be a Sanatan Dharmi.¹⁵

Like the Christian missionaries and the Arya Samajists, the Pratinidhi Sabha set up orphanages for destitute Hindu children. The basic concern was to prevent their conversion to another faith. There were orphanages at Lahore, Delhi and Kasur, each with a separate committee. The children at the orphanages were taught Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu and Mahajani, with religious instruction. Attention was specially given to teach a technical skill to help them to find employment. They were trained in certain crafts like carpentry, tailoring, dyeing, iron work, photography, calligraphy, and carpet weaving. The report of the number of male and female children in the orphanage, their age, and the nature of their education

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-46, 47, 48.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-56.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79. The *shastrarths* on the themes of *Arya Samaj Nastik Samaj Hai* and mention of *Gauwadh* in the Vedas were not held as the Arya Samajist contestants failed to appear at the last moment.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 79, 80, 81, 82. For Mahant Ram Das see *The Mughal and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori: A Historical Interpretation of 52 Persian Documents*, eds., B.N. Goswamy and J.S. Grewal, Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1969, pp. 20, 21, 68.

was annually published. Orphanages had their own *bhajan mandalis* and a band. The accounts of the orphanages were audited. A weekly entitled *Mahabir* was also issued.¹⁶ Widow homes were set up to provide food, clothing, and proper accommodation for widows. Monthly stipends were also given to them. To make widows financially independent, by teaching them to sew and stitch, was the main objective. Each *sabha* was asked to help at least four widows.¹⁷

The concerns of the Pratinidhi Sabha are reflected in some of the resolutions passed in the conference at Kurukshetra. Besides founding new Sabhas, Mahabir Dals, and an orphanage for Hindu boys at Lahore, the conference resolved to establish a Rishikul Brahmachary ashram at Kurukshetra. The practice of collecting money by placing idols of gods on the roadside was condemned. The Sanatan Dharmis were requested to get the Mandir Sudhar Bill passed in the Punjab Legislative Assembly.¹⁸

The Pratinidhi Sabha sent petitions and deputations to the government and, depending upon the importance of the issue, mobilized support for their position. Proposals were sent to the Punjab Government with a request to declare Ram Naumi as a holiday in government offices. The government was also requested to conduct an investigation into the Malakpur and Softa riots and to punish the culprits. Permission was sought from the Chief Commissioners to continue *nagar kirtan* in the Sheikhpura district and to prevent demolition of a *mandir* in Peshawar. The Deputy Commissioner was requested to grant permission to carry out the procession of 'Ved Bhagwan' at Hazara which had been stopped earlier. Thanks to the good offices of the North Western railway for a tract on the historical and religious importance of Kurukshetra that was published and distributed on the occasion of the solar eclipse. Deputations were sent to the Governor protesting against the opening of a cow slaughter house in Fazilka.¹⁹ The government was requested to issue necessary orders to the jail authorities that Hindu prisoners admitted to a jail should not be obliged to remove their sacred thread.²⁰ The Deputy Commissioner of Lahore was requested to declare a holiday for Hindus on account of Nirjala Ekadshi.²¹

16. *Annual Report of Shri Sanatan Dharm Pratinidhi Sabha Punjab*, 1928, pp. 90, 91, 92, 93.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 94.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 22, 23-24, 25. Punjab State Archives, Chandigarh, file no. 57, 1928, Punjab Government Civil Secretariat, Home-Jails, B. Proceedings, Request of certain Sabhas in the Punjab to declare Ram Naumi as a public holiday, pp. 1, 2, 9, 13, 14, 20, 33, 36.

20. Punjab State Archives, Chandigarh, file no. 153, 1921, Punjab Government Civil Secretariat, Home-Jails, B. Proceedings, Application of the Secretary Sanatan Dharm Sabha Lahore praying that Hindu prisoners may be allowed to wear the sacred thread while confined in jails in the Punjab, pp. 1-2.

21. Punjab State Archives, Chandigarh, file no. 242, 1937, Punjab Government Civil Secretariat, Home-Jails, B. Proceedings, Request of the Sanatan Pratinidhi Sabha, Punjab and the Sanatan Dharm Sabha, Lahore, that Saturday the 19th June, 1937, be granted a holiday for Hindus on account of *Nirjala Ekadshi*, p. 2.

The Sanatan Dharm Pratinidhi Sabha Punjab endorsed Mahatma Gandhi's resolve to improve the condition of the depressed classes. Gandhi had gone on fast against the provision of the Communal Award which provided separate electorates to the depressed classes.²² Ganesh Dutt, the General Secretary of the Pratinidhi Sabha asserted, that the Pratinidhi Sabha was in favour of temple entry and the right of Harijans to draw water from public wells. He also maintained, that the Sanatanists' institutions affiliated to the Pratinidhi Sabha numbering about 500 also shared this view.²³ In Ganesh Dutt's opinion Shastras allowed *devdarshan*. He quoted *shlokas* from the *Shiv Puran* and the *Smruti Tatva Ekadashi Mahatam* by Raghunandan Bhatt in support of his statement. Hindu scriptures did not discriminate between man and man in the matter of *devdarshan*, it was only the ignorant people who did not study them properly.²⁴ The workers of the Pratinidhi Sabha successfully conducted the Mantra Diksha programme chalked out by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya at different places like Lahore, Jullundur, Lyallpur, Delhi and Alawalpur.²⁵ The Sanatan Dharm Pratinidhi Sabha Punjab condemned the 'hooliganism' of Sanatanists in Bihar who attacked Mahatma Gandhi's car.²⁶

Disapproving of the Temple Entry Bill, Ganesh Dutt pointed out, that legislation in religious matters would lead to mutual strife among the Hindus. According to him, acts passed as laws could not thoroughly remove the curse of untouchability as it was a psychological phenomenon and could be best uprooted by a change of heart of the 'so called higher-classes'. This could only be done by intense propaganda among the masses on the basis of the teachings of the *Gita*, the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagvat*.²⁷

The decision of the Sanatan Dharm Pratinidhi Sabha Punjab to work for the upliftment of the Harijans caused a section of orthodox Sanatanists to break away from the Pratinidhi Sabha. They formed another organization and named it Sanatan

22. S. L. Malhotra, *From Civil Disobedience to Quit India*, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1979, p. 34.

23. *The Tribune*, 12 January 1933, p. 3. *The Tribune*, 10 April 1933, p. 3. However, there were Sanatanists of the Punjab who opposed the movement of Mahatma Gandhi. A deputation of the Sanatan Dharm Sabha of Lahore, representing the orthodox section of caste Hindus met Mahatma Gandhi and tried to dissuade him from conducting the programme for the upliftment of Harijans on the grounds that untouchables were created by God, not man. Mahatma Gandhi, however replied, that the untouchables were the creation of man not of God. *Ibid.*, 18 July, 1934, p. 3.

24. *The Tribune*, 22 March 1936, p. 9.

25. *Ibid.*, 11 February, 1936, p. 3; *Ibid.*, 3 March, 1936, p. 12.

26. *Ibid.*, 5 May 1934, p. 13.

27. *Ibid.*, 4 March, 1933, p. 13.

Dharm Pratinidhi Mahasabha with its office at Rawalpindi.²⁸ According to *The Tribune*, the Sanatan Dharm Pratinidhi Mahasabha was inspired by the reactionary institution, Varnashram Swarajya Sangh of Bombay, which gave a sum of Rs 6,000 to the Pratinidhi Mahasabha as a special grant to counteract the propaganda started by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya with the aid of the Sanatan Dharm Pratinidhi Sabha Punjab.²⁹ This Mahasabha had planned to organise a hostile demonstration with black flags on the occasion of Mahatma Gandhi's visit to Lahore.³⁰

The Gaur Bill and the Sharda Bill, which were meant to provide for divorce and widow remarriage among Hindus, were opposed on the grounds that they interfered with the religious customs of the Hindus. In order to make the government aware of the feelings of the Hindus, meetings were called, advertisements and tracts were distributed and representations were sent to the government. The Pratinidhi Sabha sent its representatives to attend the All Party Convention that was held at Calcutta.³¹

A large number of institutions associated with the Punjab Pratinidhi Sabha in Sind, the N. W. F. P. Kashmir, Balochistan, the British Punjab and the princely states, Delhi and the United Provinces are mentioned in its report of 1928. We have taken notice of only the Sanatan Dharm Sabhas located in the British Punjab.

The core institution of the Sanatanists was the Sabha.³² The Sabhas were rather unevenly spread over the province. The Shahpur district had 26 Sabhas but Rohtak had only one. Gujrat had 25 Sabhas and Gurgaon only three. Ten districts had upto 10 Sabhas each, sixteen districts upto 20 Sabhas each, and three had more than 20 each. The number of Sabhas in a district was not necessarily proportionate to its Hindu population. The district of Rawalpindi, for example, with a Hindu population of 56,174, had 18 Sabhas, but the district of Lahore with a Hindu population of 2,08,543, had 14 Sabhas. In the district of Karnal, with a population of 4,57,137, the number of Sabhas was no more than 5. Significantly, there was an inverse ratio between the number of Sabhas and the number of Hindus in these three districts. These districts were in fact representatives of three zones. In the western districts of Shahpur, Gujrat, Mianwali, Jhelum,

28. *Ibid.*, 17 June 1936, p. 11. The Sanatan Dharm Pratinidhi Mahasabha of Rawalpindi requested the Secretary of the Punjab Government to place their association on the list of public bodies and associations consulted in connection with legislative bills requiring the opinion of Sanatanists as they represented the Sanatanists of the Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan. Punjab Government Civil Secretariat, Judicial, B. Proceedings, file no. 294, 1934, Subject: Inclusion of the name of the Sanatan Dharm Pratinidhi Mahasabha, Rawalpindi in the list of public bodies and associations consulted in connection with Legislative Bills.

29. *The Tribune*, 28 January 1934, p. 14.

30. *Ibid.*, 11 July 1934, p. 10.

31. *Annual Report of Shri Sanatan Dharm Pratinidhi Sabha Punjab*, 1928, pp. 22, 27.

32. It is important to point out that the category of the Sanatan Dharm Sabhas included the Dharm Sabhas of Jullundur and Amritsar, the Hindu Sabhas of Ludhiana and Rawalpindi and the Sanatan Dharm Brahman Sabhas of Lahore, Hoshiarpur and Simla.

Rawalpindi, Multan, Muzzafargarh, Attock and Dera Ghazi Khan there were 158 Sabhas for a Hindu population of 6,16,319. In the central districts of Sheikhpura, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Sialkot, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Gujranwala, Jhang, Lyallpur, Ferozepore, Amritsar and Montgomery, the number of Sabhas was also 158 but the population was 19,10,475. In the eastern districts of Kangra, Ambala, Karnal, Hissar, Simla, Ludhiana, Gurgaon and Rohtak there were no more than 47 Sabhas though the Hindu population was 29,00,000.³³ We can see that the inverse ratio holds good not only for a few districts but actually for three large and contiguous zones. This pattern does not appear to be accidental. The number of Sanatan Dharm Sabhas corresponded directly to the increasing proportion of Muslims in a zone. It was perhaps a reflection of communal consciousness.

For the concerns of the Sanatan Dharm Sabhas we have reports of three conferences of the Sabhas held in 1928: Gujar Khan in the Rawalpindi district, Dinanagar in the Gurdaspur district and Moga in the Ferozepore district. At Gujar Khan the concerns expressed were: to establish widow homes and to propagate the importance of their duties; to impart teaching in Hindi and Sanskrit to the children; to give support to the orphanage at Delhi and the educational institutions of the Sanatanist, especially the Sanatan Dharm College at Lahore; to take the children to the temple twice daily for religious education; to give all possible support to the Sanatan Dharm School at Gujar Khan; to establish an *akhara* in all towns and villages where the Hindu youth may enhance their physical strength through exercises of all kinds; to ensure that the pending Mandir Sudhar Bill was passed; and to ensure that no girl below the age of twelve and no boy below the age of eighteen is married.³⁴

At Dinanagar the concerns expressed were: to ensure that the pending Mandir Sudhar Bill was passed; to ensure that the bill introduced by Gaur providing for divorce among Hindus was not passed; to see that the ruler of Mandi abrogated the provision of widow remarriage; to see that cow slaughter was not legally allowed in Fazilka; to see that the Raghunath Mandir of Peshawar was not demolished; to see that Vanaspati Ghee was not imported; to ensure that the Municipality of Hardwar rescinded its decision to ban the sale of the *Gita* and any exposition of Sanatan Dharm from the platform near the Brahmkund.³⁵

At Moga the concerns expressed were: to ensure that regular *katha* and *kirtan* were organized in all temples and that all festivals were celebrated; to increase the number of Mahabir Dals in the Malwa region; to give adequate support to widows and to teach them crafts in order to make them economically independent and to organize Stri Satsangs for inculcating the principles of widowhood; to see that the *dalits* were treated well that their physical, psychological and economic condition was improved, that *pathshalas* were opened for them, that they were taught handicrafts and that adequate provision of drinking

33. *Census of India, 1931*, vol. XVII, Punjab, Part I, Report, published, 1933, p. 317.

34. *Annual Report of Shri Sanatan Dharm Pratinidhi Sabha Punjab*, pp. 60, 61, 62.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 67, 68.

water was made for them; to see that the Mandir Sudhar Bill was passed; to ensure that Brahmachary ashrams were established outside every town; to see that a girl below the age of twelve, a boy below the age of eighteen and a man above the age of forty did not get married; to see that a person who is not a genuine Sanatan Dharmi was not associated with the Mahant Harnam Das Trust; to see that rupees two were given for charitable purposes to the Sanatan Dharm Pratinidhi Sabha on the occasion of a marriage; to see that all Hindu children were given education in Hindi and Sanskrit; to propagate the ideas and practices of Sanatan Dharm in the Malwa region; and to see that the birth anniversary of Bhagwan Ram (Ram Naumi) was declared a holiday.³⁶

It is obvious that the concerns of the local Sabhas were not necessarily local. In fact the local Sabhas were expected to help some of the most important institutions of the Sanatanists. Some of the concerns expressed at these conferences were common to all the three or two of them. Though all the concerns expressed at the conferences did not include every possible concern of the Sanatanists, altogether they are quite comprehensive. They relate not only to the spheres of religion and culture but also to matters social, economic and political.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 62, 63, 64, 65.

PRESENTATIONS OF KINGSHIP: PORTRAITS IN PRINCELY COURTS

Jagtej Kaur Grewal*

Among the indigenous tradition of kingship or norms of kingly conduct are acknowledged the acts of patronage be they of places of worship or building projects such as embellishing capitals, palaces and profit-making markets.¹ Within this can also be included the patronage of the visual arts that over the centuries have been seen as reflective of an aesthete king. The visual arts also play a significant role in capturing and constructing for posterity the image of a king and kingship. The world of royal splendour and maharajas is brought alive through the painted image as evidenced by Mughal, Rajasthani and Pahari miniatures to name just a few instances. The power of the image was also employed by the Sikh chiefs who, starting from the late eighteenth century into the twentieth century, patronised miniatures, oils and photographs with particular emphasis on the portrayal of the ruler - images that are part of the entire mystique of royalty. Focussing primarily on the work done in the states of Nabha, Patiala and Kapurthala in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries this paper looks at the royal patronage of 'new' practices of art that also present a conscious act of image-making, while situating the narrative within the socio-political context.

By the second half of the eighteenth century the Sikh chiefs or misaldars had begun to carve out territories and establish their fiefdoms, some of which continued into the nineteenth century and came to be referred to as the 'princely states' by the British² of which the prominent ones were the Lahore kingdom of Ranjit Singh, Patiala, Kapurthala, Faridkot, Nabha and Jind. Having been associates as also rivals through out their history by the beginning of the nineteenth century these rulers had to contend with another power, a challenger in their midst, the East India Company. This thus necessitated realignment of associations, loyalties and promises of friendship as each state sought to protect its territorial integrity

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1. Bayly states that royal expenditure was an expression of legitimate rule and pomp and ceremony were also passports to legitimate power. Bayly, C. A., *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1780-1870*, Cambridge University Press, (1983), p. 59; Ramusack, Barbara N., *The Indian Princes and their States (The New Cambridge History of India III.6)*, UK, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 44, 46.
2. Bernard S. Cohn and Edwards Haynes see the reading of the word raja as prince or chief and not king, its meaning in Sanskrit, as the British effort to create Indian rulers as a subordinate category in relation to the British monarch. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

and sovereignty against all adversaries. For the states to the east of the Sutlej it was primarily wariness in face of the expansionist intentions of Ranjit Singh that was one significant factor in their seeking assurance of protection, from the Lahore durbar and among themselves, from the British which was formalised through treaties,³ marking the growing contact of the Punjab princes with the British.

The Lahore durbar, on account of the personality of Ranjit Singh and the splendour of his court, attracted a wide range of artists - apart from Punjabi painters the artists ranged from Pahari miniaturists⁴ to British and European artists, both amateur and professional, such as G. T. Vigne, W. G. Osborne, Emily Eden and August Schoefft⁵. Thus, there are extant numerous paintings, in the miniature tradition and oils as also lithographs, depicting variously Ranjit Singh with his sons and courtiers, and individual portraits of the principal figures of the durbar. The British and European painters proficient in the academic-realistic language of art also exerted an influence on the Indian painters who, while responding to the changing taste of the patron, brought to their work a modification of manner in response to western stylistic norms. It is in the work of Punjabi painters such as Imam Baksh Lahori⁶, Kehar Singh⁷ and Kishan Singh⁸ that the synthetism begins as seen in the more naturalistic rendering of objects with chiaroscuro modelling and incorporation of scientific perspective with watercolours employed in transparent washes. The study of the works done for the Lahore durbar by scholars such as W. G. Archer, F. S. Aijazuddin, Susan Stronge, B. N. Goswamy and Jean Marie Lafont⁹ among others has rendered with clarity the emerging directions in the artistic consciousness of Punjab in this period, which was to have an impact

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3. The treaties were signed in 1806, 1809 and 1811. Cunningham, J. D., *History of the Sikhs*, New Delhi, Rupa & Co., 2002, (Reprint), pp. 403-04, 407-11.
 4. Goswamy, B. N., *Painters at the Sikh Court, A Study based on Twenty Documents*, New Delhi, Aryan Books International, 1999 (Reprint).
 5. G.T. Vigne was in Lahore around ca. 1835, W. G. Osborne and Emily Eden in 1838 and Schoefft in 1841.
 6. Seen in Imam Baksh's work for the Memoires of General Court done between 1827 and 1843. Lafont, Jean Marie, "The Painter Imam Bakhsh of Lahore", *After the Great Mughals, Painting in Delhi and the Regional Courts in the 18th and 19th century*, ed. Barbara Schmitz, Marg Publications, Mumbai, 2002, p. 79.
 7. Exemplified by Kehar Singh's lightly tinted sketches of the people of Punjab dated ca. 1850-75.
 8. Kishan Singh's album depicting birds, figures and plants exhibited at the 1864 Lahore Exhibition shows such a style. Baden-Powell, B. H., *Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab* (A Survey of art Manufactures of Punjab based on the Lahore exhibition of 1864), Lahore, Punjab Printing Company, 1872, pp. 343, 352, 358.
 9. Archer, W. G., *Paintings of the Sikhs*, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1966; Aijazuddin, F. S., *Sikh Portraits by European Artists*, Oxford University Press, Karachi & Delhi, 1979; Stronge, Susan, (ed.), *The Arts of the Sikh Kingdom*, Victoria and Albert Publications, London, 1999; Goswamy, B. N., *Piety and Splendour, Sikh Heritage in Art*, National Museum, Delhi, 2000; Lafont, Jean-Marie, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Lord of the Five Rivers*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002.

on the art practices of the other princely states as well. One conduit of the spread of this evolving artistic vision was the move of artists from Lahore to other states such as Kapurthala and Patiala and to the city of Amritsar after the annexation of the kingdom by the British in 1849.¹⁰

Of the three states that are part of the study, Nabha and Patiala were part of the trio of Phulkian states tracing their lineage to a common ancestor Phul whereas Kapurthala had been established by Jassa Singh of the Ahluwalia misl, one of the twelve confederacies in eighteenth century Punjab. By the early nineteenth century as the British began to forge a relationship with the Punjab states it was raja Fateh Singh (r. 1801-1836) of Kapurthala who was the chief negotiator with the former during the treaty of 1806 between "the Hon'ble East India company and Sardars Ranjit Singh and Fateh Singh".¹¹ He later inked the treaties of 1809 and 1811 between Kapurthala and the British, treaties that were also negotiated between the British and the states of Nabha and Patiala. The British had thus established a firm foothold in the region by the second decade of the nineteenth century with the next significant stage in their association occurring in 1857-58 when the states provided military and financial aid to them and were rewarded by grant of territories and honours and most significantly by Queen Victoria's assurance of their territorial, dynastic and other privileges. For the next "ninety years British patronage"¹² was to play an increasingly significant role in the political, administrative and cultural space at Kapurthala, Patiala and Nabha¹³ leading to British culture and western ideals making larger and more permanent inroads into oriental conservatism and conventions.¹⁴ This also came to be reflected in the patronage of the visual arts that increasingly veered towards artists practicing academic-realism in oils and photography.¹⁵ As part of the changing patterns of patronage the princes increasingly

10. Around the mid-nineteenth century Kehar Singh and Kishan Singh moved to Kapurthala and Bishan Singh settled in Amritsar following the annexation of the Sikh kingdom by the British. A number of artists from the Punjab hills also moved to the other princely states during this period. Goswamy, B. N., "Sikh Painting, An Analysis of some aspects of Patronage", *Oriental Art*, Vol. XV, No. 1, Spring 1969, p. 47; Roop, H. S., *Sikh te Sikhi* (Punjabi), Hind Publishers Limited, Lahore, 1947, pp. 133, 166-7.

11. Cunningham, J. D., *op. cit.*, pp. 403-04.

12. Until 1921 the British Government engaged with the states through the Punjab provincial government and then through the Resident after it grouped the states into the Punjab States Agency in 1936. Ramusack, Barbara N., "The Princely States of Punjab: A Bibliographical Essay", *Sources of Punjab History*, eds. W. Eric Gustafson and Kenneth W. Jones, Manohar Book Service, Delhi, 1975, p. 377.

13. Three forms of interventions by the British were - in issues of succession, especially in cases of adoption and minority rule; in disputes between the princes and their nobility; and in rationalisation of a state's administration. They accomplished it through 'advice' to a ruler, through education of young princes and 'suggestions' about ministerial appointments. Ramusack, Barbara N., *The Indian Princes and their States*, pp. 106-07.

14. Majumdar, R. C. et al., *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance*, Vol. 1, Bombay, 1963, pp. 960, 971-2.

15. Ramusack suggests that new political, economic and cultural factors might have directed princely patronage to emerging and "new" art forms and not simply British imperial hegemony. Ramusack, Barbara N., *op. cit.*, p. 156.

commissioned British as also European painters, especially for portraits. Responding to the evolving preferences of the patrons. Punjabi artists too modulated their artistic traditions leading to a pictorial expression that incorporated western stylistic elements leading towards a mimetic style. This interestingly created situations that led to the interface among different artistic traditions resulting not just in the Punjabi painter borrowing from or imitating western art but also of a British/European artist, working in an academic manner, drawing upon miniatures initiating thus an interlocutory art practice.

This is seen in the Nabha royal's patronage of the mediums of photography and the painted photograph,¹⁶ some of which are ascribed to the artist Lal Singh while others are anonymous. Lal Singh mussavar of Nabha in his artistic endeavours exemplifies the Punjabi artist's diligently acquired ability, necessitated by the shifting taste of the patrons, to practice in many media - making him a miniature painter, illustrator, photographer and a painter of photographs. Trained as a miniaturist he is most well remembered for his illustrations for M. A. Macauliffe's *The Sikh Religion, Its Gurus, Sacred Writings and Authors* (1909) in which his images of the Sikh Gurus seem to coalesce the various independent strands that constitute his art practice. The works image the haloed figures of the Gurus, usually with a *chauri* bearer standing behind, seated either in a landscape setting or indoors with a trellised balustrade behind or an arch framing the scene or a curtain draped at one side and at times with delicately patterned carpeting. The works present a curious mix of influences, of a miniature tradition, as seen in the profile faces and detailed patterns of the carpets, with a western art influenced atmospheric rendering, especially where the figures are placed in a landscape, and the inclusion of tasselled curtains in the background brings in a 'studio-photograph' vocabulary. Responding no doubt to the Nabha rulers enthusiastic patronage of the photographic portrait Lal Singh turned to this medium and worked as a photographer for the durbar evidenced by works such as the formal group portraits attributed to him such as that of maharaja Hira Singh seated with Lord Curzon and other British dignitaries.¹⁷ But some of the most interesting works emerging from the artist's hand are painted photographs of the Nabha ruler Hira Singh that meld elements seemingly drawn from the Indian miniature tradition with a realistic-photographic syntax, occupying thus a space that while claiming from both art forms falls within neither. One such work entitled "*Tasvir maharaja Hira Singh bahadur wali nabhe*" (ca. 1880-1900) is signed by Lal Singh mussavar,¹⁸

16. Nabha, the smallest of the Phulkian states, starting from around the mid-nineteenth century seems to have been one of the most enthusiastic patrons of photography and particularly the painted photographic portrait. Under the patronage of its rajas the art of the painted photograph is taken to a high refinement with the photograph at times forming the almost invisible foundational image of the painterly image.

17. Photo 49/2 (11), Photo 355/2 (68), Photo 355/7 (38). Rohatgi, Pauline, *Portraits in the India Office Library and Records*, The British Library, London, 1983, p. 314.

18. Paul, E. Jaiwant and Kapoor, Pramod, *The Unforgettable Maharajas*, Lustre Press and Roli Books, n.d., p. 79.

Nabha. Hira Singh stands attired in rich brocades, wearing a bejewelled turban ornament, his right hand resting on the hilt of a sheathed sword and the left atop a table. He is placed against a plain dark grey background even as all around him abound objects reflecting splendour - a richly patterned carpet, an arm-chair upholstered in deep green with curios such as a gold clock, books, ink stand and ink well and boxes and vases adorning the draped table. The rich red and gold curtain with golden tasselled cords on the left firmly foregrounds the opulence even as an opening on the left reveals an atmospherically rendered garden with a luminous horizon somewhat reminiscent of the little views of nature similarly positioned in some Jahangiri period paintings. The reference to a miniature tradition is repeated in the gold foliated pattern bordering the image. The photo-portrait, in the hands of a traditionally trained artist, presents an enmeshing of the painterly and the photographic with the former almost subsuming the latter.¹⁹

The image in its presentation seems to suggest meanings beyond the simply artistic and aesthetic. The portrait presents a conscious act of the depiction of a king, an act that was significant for Hira Singh. Not having succeeded to the throne under the law of primogeniture he was chosen ruler by the two Phulkian rulers of Patiala and Jind in consultation with the British who in the absence of a direct heir of the Nabha lineage anointed him with legitimacy as ruler. Thus for him reaffirming a symbolic legitimacy as king would have been important in his state formation and in this he seems to co-opt the visual image. A comparison with a painted photo-portrait of raja Bharpur Singh of Nabha (r. 1847 – 1863),²⁰ dated ca. 1860, is instructive as Hira Singh's image mirrors the earlier work in the setting and its material constructs, and the act of mimicry here "appropriates" the other as it visualizes power²¹ and through it symbolically and ritually seeks the legitimacy of rule if not direct lineage. A further concretization of this claim is enacted through a painted photograph that recalls to an extent durbar scenes rendered in miniature paintings. In "Maharaja Hira Singh with Courtiers"²² parallels can be drawn with miniatures depicting 'Maharaja Ranjit Singh with Courtiers' or Schoefft's 'Sher Singh in Durbar', imaging a pictorial parity with these rulers imparting thus a similar associative aura to Hira Singh. The footstool placed in front, courtiers ranged on either side, the minutely detailed carpet, the red and gold canopy and the floral borders all around seemingly aim to mimic not just the

19. Discussing the emergence of artist-photographers in the second half of the nineteenth century in North America Ruggles examines how the artists generally put only thin glazes on the face as otherwise subtle gradations of light and shade would be lost whereas in other sections of the photograph, such as costume, background etc. thick paint would be applied, to the extent that the photo image is not easily detectable. Ruggles, Mervyn, "Paintings on a Photographic Base", *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Spring, 1985), pp. 92-103 Accessed: 26-08-2014 14:12 UTC.

20. Paul, E. Jaiwant and Kapoor, Pramod, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

21. Bhabha, Homi, "Of Mimicry and Man", *The Location of Culture*, Routledge, London and New York, 1994, p. 86.

22. Paul, E. Jaiwant and Kapoor, Pramod, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

royal essence of a durbar scene but in the rich colour palette and detailing also aim to recall the patronage of miniatures, yet another kingly act. Yet interestingly within this construct of an indigenous royal tradition these painted photographic portraits are the result of an enthusiastic patronage of a 'new' art form that is also reflective of a "political and aesthetic engagement with an imperial cultural hegemony".²³

With time the portrayal of kingship began to occupy a more public space as the renderings got transferred into the medium of oils on canvas with the rajas turning to a mimetic style to limn for posterity lineal inheritance and the ruler's image. A commission that underscores such intentions is that executed by a British royal academician, P. Tennyson Cole (1862-1939),²⁴ who worked for the durbars of Patiala and Kapurthala between 1916 and 1918. Having portrayed English royalty and nobility as seen in his portraits of King Edward VII, King George V, the Sixth Marquess of Donegal to name just a few works, he was imminently qualified for the creation of an absolutist image of a king and for picture-historically commemorating the ruler and his lineage.

In Patiala, in the year 1916, he undertook eight portraits representing the royal lineage starting from the founder of the kingdom Ala Singh to the then ruler Bhupinder Singh with the chronological depictions of rajas Sardul Singh, Amar Singh, Sahib Singh, Karam Singh, Narinder Singh and Mohindra Singh in between. Of these the only image that wasn't a posthumous apotheosis was the portrait of Maharaja Bhupinder Singh. All the other portraits reveal how the artist adapted his work-execution to the absence of the subject by drawing upon existing miniature²⁵ and photographic likenesses, and textual and oral accounts of the subject in order to paint portraits and not idealized imagined representations. For example, the portrait of maharaja Narinder Singh (r. 1846-1862) draws upon the representation of the ruler in numerous works in the miniature idiom, in fact almost facsimileing an equestrian miniature portrait dated ca. 1860 (Fig. 1).²⁶ Compared to the miniature the oil portrait by Cole (Fig. 2) depicts a younger Narinder Singh even as his attire, ornaments and weapons along with the embellishments on his steed mirror

23. Ramusack, Barbara N., *op. cit.*, p. 151.

24. Cole travelled to various parts of the colonial empire visiting India for a period of five years during the first World War. On arrival he set up his studio in Calcutta and travelled to the princely states for commissions. See, Cole, P. Tennyson, *Vanity Varnished: Reminiscences in Many Colours*, Hutchison, London, 1931.

25. The 1864 Lahore Exhibition records the portraits of maharajas Karam Singh, Narinder Singh and Mohindra Singh by the "Patyala State Artist", B. H. Baden-Powell, p. 352; Even at Kapurthala he limned likenesses of the rajas from "existing small paintings", a reference to portraits on ivory as also miniature paintings such as those in the collections of the Chandigarh and Lahore museums. F. No. P/3-40-18, B. No. 54, Branch - Purchase, Kapurthala State, PSA, Patiala, pp. 63-6; Gupta, S. N., *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum Lahore*, Calcutta, 1922, p. 53; Paul, Suwarcha, *Sikh Miniatures in the Chandigarh Museum*, Govt. Museum & Art Gallery, Chandigarh, 1985, p. 65.

26. "Raja Narinder Singh ruler of Patiala", watercolour on paper, 40.9x32 cms, Accession No. 3690, Govt. Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

those in the earlier work. He places the equestrian figure in a naturalistically rendered landscape with the ramparts of a fort visible in the distance symbolising royal environs. While reflecting borrowings from another art practice that derives primarily from a conceptual and idealizing brush Cole locates his adaptation in the frame of academic-naturalism that renders the image 'real' while reflecting the changing taste of the patron in accordance with newer ways of seeing.

Cole's work for the Kapurthala durbār was completed over a six month period in 1918 and comprised six life-size portraits of the royal lineage namely Jassa Singh, Bhag Singh, Fateh Singh and Nihal Singh, the then ruler Jagatjit Singh and lastly Tikka Paramjit Singh.²⁷ For the portrait of Jassa Singh (d. 1783) he based the physical likeness of the figure on a Pahari equestrian miniature (ca. 1790) of the Sikh chief²⁸ while his reading of the character and personality of the ruler and his celebrated deeds, that helped construct a true portrait, were derived from the manuscript *Jassa Singh Binod*. He is shown simply attired with his armaments lying beside him seated in front of a curtain that is drawn back to reveal the Golden Temple in the distance – the Sikh holy shrine he helped rebuild after its desecration by Afghan invaders. His sagacity and warrior like alertness pictorialize the accounts of the misl chief as a simple man and an astute general. For another portrait in the series, that of raja Nihal Singh (r. 1836-1852), Cole based his work on a painting by the Punjabi painter Kishan Singh, whose work in turn had been influenced by western stylistic norms as early as the mid-nineteenth century. Kishan Singh's work, reproduced in *Sikh te Sikhi*,²⁹ exhibits the influence of the Indian miniature tradition tempered with a certain degree of naturalness, which is taken to its logical conclusion in the oil portrait. Cole depicts the raja in profile, seated with his legs folded under, leaning against a bolster and holding a sword in his left hand. The crimson curtain foregrounds the figure while closing off the background. In Cole's academic-realistic oil portraits for the Patiala and Kapurthala durbārs the selective borrowings from Indian sources – be they miniatures or the works of Punjabi artists working in a syncretic style or textual sources and oral history – creates a mediatory artistic space for divergent traditions and suggest elisions between them underlying the construction of the portrait image. The royal patrons through these images aim to "enhance the representation of their authority"³⁰ which was facing constant onslaught from the British.

This overview of portraits and patronage at the Punjab princely courts suggests several interpretations and meanings. In the photographs from Nabha the elaborate painted environment creates a new 'reality' challenging photography

27. Punjab State Archives, Purchase of six portraits in oil colours from Mr. T. Cole, F. No. P/3-40-18, B. No. 54, Patiala, 1918, p. 2.

28. The Kapurthala raja Bhag Singh (r. 1783-1801) had forged an alliance with Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra and this alliance brought works of the Kangra idiom to Kapurthala. One manifestation of this is the equestrian portrait of Baba Jassa Singh. Griffin, Lepel H., *The Rajas of the Punjab*, Manu Publications, New Delhi, 1977 (Reprint), p. 518.

29. The work is reproduced in the book and faces page 1. Roop, H. S., *Sikh te Sikhi*.

30. Ramusack, Barbara N., *op. cit.*, p. 155.

as truth. In these a new truth is being created furthering the subject's, in this case the raja's, self-image and of how others are to see him. These painted photographs suggest multilayered meanings and functions, furthering in a manner the symbolic assertion of kingship in the indigenous tradition through the presentation of a consciously constructed image and through the act of patronage of the visual arts. P. Tennyson Cole's genealogical series of oil portraits too have resonance at both the artistic-aesthetic as also the symbolic level. They signify the shift in taste most clearly reflected in the patronage of an artist working in an academic-realistic manner in oils marking the unequivocal preference for a west influenced aesthetic. The limning of dynastic succession with all the appropriate signs and symbols of a king - thus imaging icons of royalty - is poignantly significant as these works aim to capture on canvas for posterity what was being eroded in reality, the sovereignty of the ruler who was increasingly 'advised' by the paramount power. Thus, while the commissioning of academic-realistic paintings in oils and the photographic medium certainly acknowledges cultural, material and political engagement with and influence of British imperial hegemony what is repeatedly reasserted in this narrative of patronage is that these works have significance beyond just visual images. As both their manner of representation and the act of patronage are also "the outward mark(s) by which rulers were recognised"³¹ these can be viewed in the nature of artistic-political statements.



Fig. 1, *Maharaja Narinder Singh*, watercolour on paper, ca. 1860 A.D. (Collection: Govt. Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh)



Fig. 2, P. Tennyson Cole, *Maharaja Narinder Singh*, Oil on canvas, 1918 A.D. (Collection: Museum Qila Mubarak, Patiala)

31. Bayly, C. A., *op. cit.*, p. 57.

SMALLPOX VACCINATION IN THE COLONIAL PUNJAB

*Sasha**

Since time immemorial, the society has been affected by epidemics recurrently. The epidemics resulted in large scale mortality, affected economic structures as well as political and social fabric of different areas. The epidemics of smallpox not only caused widespread mortality but also physical disfigurement for those who survived. In India, it posed a major threat to the lives of European administrators, their families and soldiers. The colonial state was faced with a major challenge to introduce vaccination on a large scale measure in order to prevent further smallpox epidemic outbreaks. It also presented dilemmas peculiar to the colonial situation and the colonial state felt obliged to explain and combat them. However, the degree of its involvement and the methods used to vaccinate the population were determined by its priorities, which, were economic considerations backed by political and administrative control.

Smallpox claimed 8,50,591 lives in the Punjab from 1868 to 1947. One in every ten cases of smallpox turned out to be fatal in the Punjab region, and of those who survived the attack, one-fourth were disfigured for life. There was a Pashto saying that, 'every child must get it, until he gets over the smallpox, parents do not count their child their own.'¹ Smallpox caused the worst havoc between 1875 and 1919, claiming 2,37,853 lives. During this period nine major epidemics broke out. From 1875 to 1904, average annual smallpox deaths per million in the Punjab were 709, which was higher than most of the other provinces as shown in the table:²

Table 1: Average smallpox deaths per million.

Year	Bengal	NWP	Punjab	Bombay	CP	Madras	British India
1875-79	196	1704	1430	590	1848	1428	976
1880-84	280	1782	550	376	490	1000	804
1885-89	98	482	632	218	856	860	410
1890-94	208	440	334	152	158	960	430
1895-99	204	580	774	172	420	438	432
1900-04	438	152	532	262	440	600	392
Average	237	856	709	295	702	881	574

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1. *Gazetteer of Bannu District, 1883-84*, p.14.

2. David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in the Nineteenth Century India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1993, pp.118-19.

In the Punjab, twenty-seven districts were recurrently affected by smallpox. The worst affected areas were mainly in the north-west and south-east where vaccination was rather unpopular. The close proximity of Karnal and Rohtak to the principal shrine of the goddess Sitala in Gurgaon resulted in the people preferring to visit the shrine to obtain relief rather than getting themselves vaccinated. In the districts of Rawalpindi, Jhang, Shahpur, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, Peshawar and Montgomery, people preferred recourse to variolation rather than vaccination.³

The natives resorted to certain indigenous medical and social practices to handle smallpox. They resorted to the practice of variolation.⁴ In this, the inoculators kept dry crusts from pustules mixed with a few grains of rice in a box. Smallpox was induced by inserting the mixture into a wound made near the base of the thumb. This was kept for six hours. Dietary restrictions were imposed. For six days cold water was poured over the patients' head. This was discontinued for three days when the eruptions began. Pustules were opened and pus drained off. Amongst the Muslims, the Sayyids and Mullahs performed inoculation. Rajputs and Nais acted as inoculators amongst the Hindus of all areas barring south-east Punjab where the Hindus did not protect themselves for the fear of offending the goddess.⁵ In addition to this, other practices included feeding uninfected children with milk and rice and washing their hands with water. This was then sprinkled over the sick child with repetition of '*chuto*' meaning 'release' which signified expulsion of the disease.⁶ Also, the Hindus poured water at the feet of the goddess to cool her hot power while the Muslims soaked their sick children's clothes in water and threw the water at the root of the tree to cool *kudrat* (nature).⁷ The Hindus gave opprobrious names to their children and dressed them in rags to prevent them from contracting smallpox.⁸

Such indigenous practices were condemned by the British who in fact, considered these to spread the disease. The British tried to contain the epidemics using Western medical practices but used funds sparingly in areas where common people were involved. The actual handling of epidemics by the administration reflected the priorities of a colonial regime.

To combat smallpox, the British resorted to segregation and disinfection

3. *Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*. (Cited hereafter as *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*), December 1887, Serial Number 24, pp. 131-36.
4. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, October 1880, Serial Number 12, p.541.
5. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, October 1873, Serial Number 5, p.815. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Punjab*, Volume 1, Superintendent of Government Printing, Calcutta, 1908, p.146. Also, David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in the Nineteenth Century India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1993, pp.127-28.
6. J. Abbott, *Indian Ritual and Belief: The Keys to Power*, (cited hereafter as *Indian Ritual and Belief*), Usha Publications, New Delhi, 1984, pp. 37-38.
7. J. Abbott, *Indian Ritual and Belief*, p. 8.
8. William Crooke, *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, Government Press, NWP and Oudh, Allahabad, 1894, pp. 86-87.

initially. However, their main emphasis was on vaccination, which was intended to be a long term measure.

Initially, in the 1870s, to prevent the spread of smallpox, the sick were isolated in a tent or a grass hut situated at a distance from the inhabited areas.⁹ In 1889, smallpox patients were segregated in isolation wards in the hospitals in addition to tents and huts. At Lahore, Europeans and Eurasians were segregated in a hospital set up for this purpose. A similar hospital was opened in Simla at Boileauganj in 1913 for segregating the Europeans. A smallpox hospital at Lahore was constructed in March 1915 to segregate the Indians suffering from smallpox.¹⁰ In addition, the isolation wards and tents in which the sick were kept were disinfected and not used for ten days after disinfection. Even the bedding, clothing, cots and *pankha* (hand-fan) fringes were reported to have been 'thoroughly disinfected.'¹¹

The 'benevolent and humane' practice of arm-to-arm vaccination was one of the earliest medical measures undertaken by the Punjab government. During the 'vaccination season,'¹² a few children were vaccinated and then, on the eighth day, children bearing the best lymph vesicles were selected as vaccinifers.¹³ The people to be vaccinated were collected together at a place and vaccinated in batches of twenty to thirty people from the vaccinifer belonging to the same village.¹⁴ In 1884, arm-to-arm vaccination was replaced by calf lymph vaccination. Vaccinations were generally carried out at a central place; it was even done in the house after paying a fee to the vaccinator.¹⁵ In 1890, buffalo, donkey, sheep and goat lymph were also used for making the vaccine.¹⁶ In 1896, calf lymph preserved in vaseline was used. Further changes were made in the vaccine in 1904 when glycerinated lymph treated with chloroform was used.¹⁷

The provincial government set up an elaborate framework for vaccination work for which the province was divided into two circles in 1856. A superintendent-general was appointed for each circle who had an establishment of Indian vaccinators working under him. This system continued until 1868, when, the sanitary commissioner took charge of the vaccination department. Consequently, each circle had a deputy sanitary commissioner who supervised the vaccine

9. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, November 1877, Serial Number 9, p. 1025.

10. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, March 1889, Serial Number 26, pp. 37-38. Also, *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, January 1913, Serial Number 81, p. 211; *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, March 1915, Serial Number 85, p. 63.

11. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, November 1877, Serial Number 9, pp. 1025-26.

12. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, September 1882, Serial Number 14, p. 95. The vaccination season extended from November 1 to March 31 in the plains and April 1 to October 31 in the hills.

13. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, June 1880, Serial Number 12, pp. 342-43.

14. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, September 1882, Serial Number 14, p. 95.

15. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, September 1903, Serial Number 60, p. 127.

16. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, July 1891, Serial Number 30, p. 42.

17. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, July 1907, Serial Number 70, p. 52.

operations, and the work of the district medical officers. The district medical officers directed the work of the vaccinators.¹⁸ The existing working staff of the provincial vaccine establishment and the staff of several local vaccine establishments were amalgamated into a single vaccination department in 1881.¹⁹

Further changes were made in the vaccination establishment in 1889. Vaccination work was carried out by four establishments—dispensary, district, cantonment and special staff.²⁰ From 1906, vaccinators were employed by the local bodies and were under their administrative control.²¹ In September 1926, vaccination work was placed under the district medical officer of health. For district headquarters and municipalities, separate municipal medical officers of health were appointed to carry out the vaccination work.²²

In 1929, the province was divided into vaccination circles, corresponding to the area of the police stations. For each vaccination circle the district board appointed a vaccinator who worked under the district medical officer of health. For six vaccination circles, the district board appointed superintendent of vaccination. The vaccinator was required to visit each village in the vaccination circle twice during the vaccination season. Vaccinations by this time were carried out generally in a school or *sarai* (a shelter for transients).²³

The government sought to make vaccination compulsory for children in certain municipalities and cantonments. For this purpose, a bill was introduced in 1879, which also prohibited the practice of variolation. In 1880, this bill was passed as the Vaccination Act. However, it was enforced mainly in the cities and the summer capital.²⁴ Gradually, it was extended to some other urban areas of the province.²⁵ In 1886, although the Governor General-in-Council proposed that before entering the service all government servants should be vaccinated, but it was only in 1919, that this proposal was put into practice.²⁶ In 1929, compulsory

18. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, September 1881, Serial Number 13, p. 661. The eastern circle comprised of Delhi, Hissar, Ambala, Jalandhar and Amritsar districts while the western circle comprised of Lahore, Rawalpindi, Multan, and Peshawar districts.
19. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, September 1881, Serial Number 13, pp. 660-61.
20. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, July 1890, Serial Number 29, p. 38. The dispensary and district staff worked throughout the province, the cantonment staff worked in the military stations and the special staff worked in the native states.
21. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, March 1907, Serial Number 69, p. 149.
22. *Proceedings, A, Home: Public Health*, 1936, Number 2, p. 3. The municipal towns which were the headquarter stations and where no medical officer of health was employed, vaccination work was carried out by the civil surgeon.
23. *Proceedings, A, Home: Public Health*, 1936, Number 2, p. 3.
24. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, July 1884, Serial Number 18, p. 93. Also, *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, August 1887, Serial Number 24, p. 89; *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, August 1888, Serial Number 25, p. 89. In 1884, the Act was enforced in Lahore Municipality, and in 1887 at Simla and Amritsar.
25. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, December 1879, Serial Number 11, p. 1.
26. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, February 1886, Serial Number 21, pp. 19-20. Also, *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, August 1919, Serial Number 94, p. 70. After the proposal was accepted, all the heads of the department ensured that the government employees subordinate to them were protected against smallpox.

vaccination was extended to rural areas.²⁷

The British made efforts to popularise vaccination. The deputy sanitary commissioner went to a number of villages in 1874 to explain the benefits of vaccination to the people. He showed his scar to the people in an attempt to remove their apprehensions.²⁸ In 1877, the hospital assistants were directed to work towards removing the reluctance of the people for getting themselves vaccinated.²⁹ In 1882, the native superintendent of vaccination supervised the operations of the district staff, worked with zaildars and lambardars for giving assistance to vaccinators in carrying out the vaccination work.³⁰ In 1884, committees and sub committees were appointed to investigate and report on the unpopularity of the vaccination.³¹ From 1886, the sanitary commissioner himself gave lectures about the benefits of vaccination in the villages.³² In 1891, the tahsildars and naib tahsildars were asked to enquire about the conduct of the vaccinators from the people and the difficulties they faced during the vaccination operations.³³

To make vaccinators acceptable to the people, the municipal committees were asked in 1874 to choose local persons of 'good character' as vaccinators.³⁴ In 1881, persons with 'some standing' were imparted training and employed as vaccinators. Sayyids, Mullahs, Brahmans and variolators were employed as vaccinators. No person belonging to low caste was employed.³⁵ During the non-vaccinating season, the vaccinators were asked to work in the dispensaries.³⁶ In 1883, the vaccinators distributed medicines to the sick during the smallpox outbreaks.³⁷ In the subsequent year, they carried simple medicines for healing the sick.³⁸ The superintendent of vaccination checked the working of the vaccinators to prevent forcible vaccinations.³⁹

The native elites were also induced to set examples by getting the members of their families vaccinated. In Delhi, Lala Sheo Sahai Mal, honorary magistrate and member of the municipal committee set an example by getting his own son vaccinated, and also assisted in securing 288 children for vaccination.⁴⁰ In Karnal,

27. *Proceedings, A. Home: Public Health*, 1929, Number 4, p. 3.

28. *Proceedings, Home*, February 1874, Serial Number 6, pp. 88-89.

29. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, July 1877, Serial Number 9, p. 681.

30. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, February 1882, Serial Number 14, p. 27. Also, *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, October 1892, Serial Number 33, pp. 74-75.

31. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, December 1884, Serial Number 18, p. 143.

32. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, May 1886, Serial Number 21, p. 75.

33. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, July 1891, Serial Number 30, p. 60.

34. *Proceedings, Home*, April 1874, Serial Number 6, p. 186.

35. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, February 1881, Serial Number 13, pp. 84-85.

36. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, September 1882, Serial Number 14, p. 92.

37. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, June 1883, Serial Number 15, p. 76.

38. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, December 1884, Serial Number 18, pp. 137-38. Also, *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, July 1888, Serial Number 25, p. 73. In 1887, 48,397 people were treated by the vaccinators.

39. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, June 1901, Serial Number 54, p. 98.

40. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, December 1884, Serial Number 18, p. 142.

Jhanda Mal, a member of the municipal committee, got his brother's children vaccinated.⁴¹ In Tanda Urmur and Aiapur, the municipal committee members tried to diffuse knowledge about the benefits of vaccination.⁴² In Multan, municipal committee members, in particular Seth Ganga Ram, was reported to have taken 'active interest' in overcoming the prejudices of the people against vaccinations.⁴³ The members of municipal committees of Multan, Ferozepur and Ambala motivated the villagers to come forward for vaccination.⁴⁴ The native rulers, for instance, of Bassahir and Faridkot set examples for popularising vaccination by getting their own children vaccinated.⁴⁵

In spite of the elaborate machinery, and the special measures to make vaccination acceptable to the people, the vaccination measure made relatively slow progress. Despite an increase in the number of the vaccinated persons, the mortality from smallpox remained high as many new born children were left unvaccinated due to the prejudices of the people, infrequent visits of the vaccinators and practical difficulties of enforcing vaccination over large areas. The harsh and indifferent conduct of the vaccinators discouraged the people to get themselves vaccinated.

There were several instances of coercion, callousness and incompetence exhibited in the course of vaccination operations.⁴⁶ The vaccinators performed a large number of operations in a limited time without any regard to the 'convenience and religious observances' of the people.⁴⁷ Often the vaccinators carried out their work negligently. In Hazara, buffalo lymph was taken on the fifth day instead of the sixth due to which people complained of inflammations and vesicular eruptions. Similar complaints were made from districts of Gurgaon, Hissar, Karnal, Jalandhar, and Montgomery.⁴⁸ Some children died after they were improperly vaccinated.⁴⁹ The grandchild of the Nawab of Loharu in Delhi died three days after getting vaccinated.⁵⁰ At many places, the lymph used for vaccine operations was of a poor quality which made vaccination operations ineffective.⁵¹

41. *Proceedings, Home*, April 1874, Serial Number 6, p. 175.

42. *Proceedings, Home*, March 1875, Serial Number 7, pp. 160-62.

43. *Proceedings, Home*, January 1875, Serial Number 7, p. 37.

44. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, October 1880, Serial Number 12, pp. 540-41.

45. *Proceedings, Home*, August 1876, Serial Number 8, pp. 552-53. Also, *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, October 1880, Serial Number 12, p. 541.

46. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, November 1878, Serial Number 10, p. 941; Also, *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, December 1879, Serial Number 11, p. 7.

47. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, February 1881, Serial Number 13, pp. 82-83.

48. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, February 1890, Serial Number 28, pp. 9-10. Also, *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, January 1896, Serial Number 40, pp. 1-6.

49. *Proceedings, Home*, April 1874, Serial Number 6, p. 185. Also, *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, December 1884, Serial Number 18, pp. 140-41. The sanitary commissioner himself wrote that he rarely found a good cicatrix in the children.

50. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, December 1884, Serial Number 18, p. 145.

51. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, April 1874, Serial Number 6, p. 185. Also, *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, January 1896, Serial Number 40, pp. 1-6. For instance, there were reports of use of poor quality lymph from districts of Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Hissar, and Rohtak.

The vaccinators of the provincial establishment used the authoritative influence of the *tahsil* agency - *lambardars* and *zaildars*, for vaccinating the children, who were often collected forcibly and vaccinated without the consent of their parents. The women were dragged out of their homes and children snatched from their arms. The beards of the men were also pulled for not bringing the children out of their homes.⁵² In many cases, the mother along with the vacciniferous child was dragged for days and made to travel for miles to witness the torture of her child in the extraction of the lymph. This continued till either the arm of the child became inflamed or the child became feverish.⁵³

The disgruntlement of the people against the vaccination measures manifested itself in rumours. It was believed by some that the government was marking the children because it was looking for people fit enough to be slaves.⁵⁴ Another rumour that found easy acceptance was that the British wanted to cut short the growth of the nation by injuring the nerves of virility and making the children impotent. They also believed that the British were taking out blood to prepare a blood mummy. Some even believed that the government was trying to find a child who had milk in his veins as such a child would be Imam Mahdi whom the British were trying to kill.⁵⁵ Some thought that by vaccinating people the government was collecting a certain quantity of human blood for propitiating a deity.⁵⁶ Vaccinations were also seen as a means of spreading Christianity!⁵⁷

There was also an utmost dislike for the arm-to-arm vaccination of the children who were concealed in their homes till the tour of the vaccinator was over.⁵⁸ One such instance was reported from Jhang where the women locked themselves in along with their children.⁵⁹ In Lahore city, the children afflicted with smallpox were concealed at a time when the vesicles were ripe and they were required to be brought for inspection.⁶⁰ The resistance to the government measures was not possible without the connivance of the lower government functionaries. In the Rohtak district, villagers gave presents to the vaccinators for allowing the children to remain unvaccinated.⁶¹ In Palwal, the members of the municipal committees bribed the vaccinators for not carrying out any vaccinations in their *mohullas*.⁶² To escape vaccinations in Ludhiana, the residents probably bribed the registration writer not to get the births registered.⁶³ In Karnal, the wealthier people paid money to the vaccinator to go away and not vaccinate the

52. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, February 1881, Serial Number 13, pp. 82-83.

53. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, December 1884, Serial Number 18, p. 141.

54. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, December 1879, Serial Number 11, pp. 6-7.

55. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, February 1881, Serial Number 13, p. 84.

56. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, December 1879, Serial Number 11, pp. 6-7.

57. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, February 1881, Serial Number 13, p. 84.

58. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, June 1880, Serial Number 12, pp. 342-43.

59. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, February 1881, Serial Number 13, p. 83.

60. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, July 1884, Serial Number 18, p. 92.

61. *Proceedings, Home*, April 1874, Serial Number 6, p. 185.

62. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, October 1880, Serial Number 12, p. 540.

63. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, June 1880, Serial Number 12, pp. 342-43.

children.⁶⁴ In Simal Mazra, in Garhshankar district, the lambardars allowed the plague victims to be secretly buried.⁶⁵ The temporary migrations were another means of dealing with the fear and panic caused by the eradication measures. During the vaccination season the people in the Jhang and Lahore districts migrated to other places and returned only after the vaccinator had left the village.⁶⁶

The resistance against vaccination was very strong. The caste Hindus resisted vaccination on the plea that the vaccines contained the substances that were not permitted by their religion. The Khatri of Rahon sent a petition to the Deputy Commissioner saying that the prophylactic serum contained animal matter forbidden by their religion.⁶⁷ A strong reluctance was reported from Gurgaon, Lahore, Gujrat, Muzaffargarh and Dera Ismail Khan districts.⁶⁸ Even the native rulers of Nahan and Keonthal refused to allow vaccination work in their states on religious grounds.⁶⁹ The upper caste Hindus opposed vaccination also on the grounds of caste. In the arm-to-arm vaccination, lymph was often taken from sweepers' children and injected in to the children belonging to the higher castes. Often vaccinators themselves belonged to a lower caste. Thus, in Ludhiana, only 54 Hindus came forward for vaccination out of the 611 persons vaccinated.⁷⁰ In Delhi, Lala Hardhyan Singh and Lala Kishan Chand, both members of the municipal committee, and Lala Ram Kishan Das, an honorary magistrate, did not get children from their families vaccinated. The former tahsildar of Ballabgarh received a commendation certificate (*parwana*) for assistance in vaccination work but he did not get his own children vaccinated.⁷¹

Sometimes the reaction towards vaccination became violent. In the early period violence was directed against the vaccinators. In 1883, the vaccinators were actually assaulted four times and were prevented from carrying out their duty. In another incident, the head vaccinator of Delhi, Ghalib Ali, was attacked in the bazaar.⁷² In 1891, in Rohtak, the vaccinators were assaulted on the ground that they unnecessarily vaccinated many children.⁷³

The British realised that the vaccination measures did not bring out the desired results and the disease still posed a major threat to their families and

64. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, July 1891, Serial Number 30, p. 59.

65. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, April 1898, Number 280B, p. 5.

66. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, February 1881, Serial Number 13, p. 83. Also, *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, July 1884, Serial Number 18, p. 92; *Gazetteer of Hissar District and Loharu State*, 1904, p. 313.

67. Captain E. Wilkinson, *Report on the Inoculation in Jullundur and Hoshiarpur Districts of the Punjab October 1899-September 1900*, Punjab Government Press, Lahore, 1901, pp.50-51.

68. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, July 1890, Serial Number 29, pp.40-41.

69. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, July 1890, Serial Number 29, p.39. Also, *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, August 1895, Serial Number 39, p.106.

70. *Proceedings, Home*, August 1874, Serial Number 6, p.378. Also, *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, December 1879, Serial Number 11, p.7.

71. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, December 1884, Serial Number 18, pp.144-45.

72. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, July 1884, Serial Number 18, p. 87.

73. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, July 1891, Serial Number 30, p. 42.

garrison. Henceforth, from the last decade of the nineteenth century, the mode of implementation of the measures were changed in order to make these acceptable to the indigenous population.

The tahsildars and naib tahsildars were asked to enquire about the conduct of the vaccinators from the people and the difficulties they faced during the vaccination operations.⁷⁴ Consequently, in the early twentieth century, persons of high castes were trained as vaccinators. Under the diarchy and the provincial autonomy, measures were introduced to make vaccination operations more effective. By 1925, the scheme to employ female vaccinators for vaccinating the women observing *pardah* was in operation in greater parts of the Punjab.⁷⁵ Also, in 1944 a scheme for training women in the girls school run by the local bodies and the government was started. These teachers wielded influence with the local people and could vaccinate women in their homes.⁷⁶

The services of the indigenous practitioners were also utilized. The *vaid*s and *hakims* assisted in the vaccination operations.⁷⁷ The services of various other agencies both religious and non religious were also utilised. The Arya Samaj in Jalandhar explained the necessity and importance of the preventive measures to the traders and asked them to co-operate with the authorities.⁷⁸ The relief committee of the Punjab Brahmo Samaj supplied medicines and induced the people to take part in the preventive measures.⁷⁹ In 1933, assistance from 2,875 Boy Scouts was sought.⁸⁰ Boardings were set up in vernacular at various places highlighting the benefits of western medicine including vaccinations.⁸¹ In 1935, in Gujranwala district, the honorary health lecturer of the Red Cross Society delivered 622 lectures with the help of a magic lantern.⁸²

As a result of these measures, a considerable change took place. There was a substantial increase in the number of people going to the medical institutions and the number of vaccinations increased. By the mid 1920's, when the penetration of western medicine became gradual and covered larger areas, vaccination became acceptable and resulted in a major decline of the outbreak of smallpox epidemics.

74. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, July 1891, Serial Number 30, p. 60.

75. *Administration Report, 1925-26*, p. 111.

76. *Proceedings, B, Home: Public Health*, 1944, Number 76, p. 5.

77. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, September 1898, Number 121-29, pp.2-3.

78. *Proceedings, Home: Medical and Sanitary*, June 1901, Number 99-100, pp.2-5.

79. *The Tribune*, April 19, 1907, p. 5.

80. *Proceedings, B, Home: Public Health*, 1936, Number 178, p. 43.

81. *Proceedings, B, Home: Public Health*, 1934, Number 36, pp. 31-39.

82. *Gazetteer of Gujranwala District*, 1935, p. 335.

THE GRANDEUR OF HAFFKINE INSTITUTE UNDER DR. SAHIB SINGH SOKHEY

*Gagandip Cheema**

The origin of Indian Medical Services (IMS) dates back to The East India Company's expansionist decades of the mid-eighteenth century when the company employed surgeons with the troops to provide them medical treatment against tropical diseases. Indian Medical Service (IMS) was basically one of the military medical services but it had some civilian functions also. The officers of the IMS were employed in civil hospitals, mental asylums and prisons; supervised dispensaries; staffed medical schools and colleges and research institutes; directed the sanitary services and acted as advisors to the central and provincial governments. To begin with, all such posts were reserved for the Europeans. In 1855, admission to the IMS through competitive examinations was thrown open to all natural born subjects of Her Majesty. S.C.G.Chakravorty of Bengal was the first Indian to pass IMS competitive examination. Though IMS was opened to Indians yet the Europeans continued to dominate it, especially in the field of medical research. This dominance of Europeans began to be challenged by Indian doctors during the 1920's and 1930's when R.C. Watts, P.M.Wagle, Sahib Singh Sokhey, B.P.B.Naidu, D.C. Lahiri, M.Sharif, M.V. Radhakrishna Rao and B.B.Dikshit joined the Haffkine Institute, Bombay. Sahib Singh Sokhey was one such example who had the audacity to dare European researchers who were proud of their knowledge in the field of medical research. By dint of his hard work and sincerity, he rose to the position of Director and remained at the helm of affairs at the Haffkine Institute continuously for seventeen years. Under his able guidance and watchful eyes the institute made rapid strides towards advancement of medical research and gained international recognition.

Lt. Col. Sahib Singh Sokhey was born on December 15, 1887 in Amritsar in the family of traditional engineers who had played a significant role in the construction of the Golden Temple. His father, Jawala Singh Sokhey, a civil engineer, was attached to the irrigation schemes of the Punjab and Burma which the British Government had formulated. Sahib Singh Sokhey had a brilliant educational carrier. After getting his early education at Amritsar and Government College, Lahore, he joined the Panjab University. He stood first in the Intermediate Science Examination and the University Entrance Examination. In 1905, the Panjab University awarded him B.Sc. degree in Physics and Chemistry with Honours. In

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1906, he joined Lahore Medical College, and after spending a year there left for the United Kingdoms to join the Edinburg University to pursue his study in medicine. The Edinburg University awarded him the degree of MD for his thesis on 'Ammonia Mechanism'. Thereafter, he competed for the Indian Medical Services and stood first in the examination.

Sahib Singh Sokhey joined the Indian Army in 1913 as an IMS officer and served in the First World War in France, and then in Mesopotamia till 1921. On his return to India, he commanded the Indian Military Hospital at Calcutta. The military training developed in him the sense of discipline, administrative and executive abilities, capacity to judge and deal with men and ability to keep laboratories clean and in order. Sokhey was awarded Rockefeller Foundation fellowship from 1923 to 1925. During this period he got an opportunity to research and study clinical biochemistry at Harvard, the University of Toronto and Trinity College, Cambridge under able guidance and supervision of world famous scientists like Professor Otto Folin, Professor J.B. Macleod (recipient of Noble Prize for his work on insulin) and Professor Fredrick Gowland Hopkins (the father of British biochemistry).¹ He wanted to continue his work at the Pasteur Institute in Paris, but the Government of India did not allow him to do so. On returning to India in mid 1925, Sokhey was sorely disappointed that no arrangements had been made to immediately employ him as a bio-chemist. He complained to the Rockefeller Foundation that 'he was relegated to look at the tongues and feel the pulses of the able bodied soldiers or to the same work he had been doing before he was awarded the fellowship'. He and four of his fellow doctors, who had been trained on the fellowships, found no openings. Sokhey held that he would have to give a 'long dissertation on British (mis) rule' or 'write a thesis on Indian politics'.²

On August 18, 1925, the Government of India appointed Sokhey as Assistant Director of the Haffkine Institute, Bombay and he was placed in charge of the Biochemical Unit.³ In 1927, Katherine Mayo, an American researcher and historian,

1. *Bibliographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Indian National Science Academy*, Vol. 4, National Institute of Science, Delhi, August, 1976, pp. 133, 135.
2. Mridula Ramanna, 'The Haffkine Institute, 1899-1947', in *Science and Modern India: An Institutional History, c.1784-1947*, ed. by Uma Das Gupta, Vol. XV, Part 4 of series of History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilisation, Pearson, Longman, 2011, p. 576. Haffkine was a Russian born Jew, who after studying the science of bacteriology at the Pasteur Institute, Paris, came to Calcutta in 1853. He prepared cholera inoculation and injected the material into thousands of volunteers and decisively proved that cholera inoculation protected the people against the attack of cholera. In 1896, when plague appeared in Bombay, he was asked to investigate the bacteriological aspect of the disease and prepare prophylactic vaccine for it. Haffkine arrived at Bombay on 7th October, 1896 and established a Plague Research Laboratory. Four days earlier, when Sokhey joined the Institute, the name of the Institute was changed from the prosaic "Bombay Bacteriological Laboratory" to the Haffkine Institute, to commemorate the great contribution of its first and the most distinguished Director, Dr. Waldemar Mordecai Haffkine.
3. *Bibliographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Indian National Science Academy*, Vol. 4, National Institute of Science, Delhi, August, 1976, p.135.

wrote a polemic book entitled '*Mother India*', in which the evils of the social and religious structure of the Indian society had been picked up with special effort and given to the western world to understand as if they were the general features of the Indian life. India was painted as the most backward and the barbaric country. She opposed Indian independence from the British rule.⁴ All this caused great excitement among Indian leaders. Critics of Katherine Mayo accused her work of being racist, pro-imperialist and an Indo-phobic tract that "expressed the dominant prejudices of colonial society".⁵ Even Sokhey was quite up-set. He was apparently seething with indignation at Katherine Mayo's '*Mother India*'. Therefore, Sokhey involved himself in the social and political problems of the Indians and tried to ameliorate them. Almost at the same time, Lewis Wandell Hackett of the Rockefeller Foundation visited the Haffkine Institute and was shown around by Sokhey. While talking to Sokhey, Hackett observed that he was too much pre-occupied with the social and political problems of India that it was difficult to take him to a 'scientific plane'. Hackett was also struck by the fact that Sokhey was anti-British and was in favour of absolute independence for India and concluded, 'this mental attitude on Sokhey's part may explain to some extent the damaging criticism of his work in British circles'.⁶ However, in 1928, in spite of British criticism, Sokhey managed a grant of Rs. 73,000 from the Indian Research Fund Association (IRFA) and Rs. 15,000 from Bombay Government to properly organise Biochemistry Department at the Haffkine Institute by convincing IRFA and the Bombay Government that practically it was impossible to practice modern medicine without the aid of biochemical analytical work. After officiating as Director of the Haffkine Institute for many short periods, Sokhey became the permanent Director in 1932, the first Indian and a Sirdar from the Punjab, to be so, and occupied this post meritoriously for seventeen years, the longest term ever known. He retired in 1949, rather very reluctantly, as a sort of forced separation from his closest kin.⁷ When he took over as the Director in 1932, ironically, the first communication he received from the Government was that the country was passing through a period of intense economic depression and the government could not loose Rs. 8 lakhs every year to run the institute and desired him to make the institute self-supporting by increasing the prices of the products, or to submit proposals for winding it up. Sokhey replied back that he could not agree to either of the proposals and but suggested instead the opposite – the prices of the products should be reduced and the Institute should expand.⁸ He wrote to the Government :

4. G.S.Chhabra, *Advanced study in the History of Modern India*, Vol.III (1920-1947), Lotus Press, New Delhi, revised in 2005, p.37.

5. Mrinalini Sinha, "Introduction", in *Selections from Mother India*, ed. M. Sinha, Women's Press, New Delhi, 1998, p.5.

6. Mridula Ramanna, 'The Haffkine Institute, 1899-1947', p.576.

7. *Bibliographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Indian National Science Academy*, Vol. 4, National Institute of Science, Delhi, August, 1976, p.135.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

*"The fact cannot be overstressed that true economy lies in not spending less money on the Institute, contracting its sphere of work that way, per unit of work will cost more – but to enlarge the functions of the institute and thereby not only better safeguard the health of the people of this Presidency, but also actually get greater money returns..... It must be clearly understood that research is not a mystic function which gets vitiated by contact with practical problems. On the contrary, best research arises from contact of men trained in scientific methods and outlook with everyday problems which cannot await solution but demand handling....."*⁹

The Government agreed to his proposals and gave him free hand to pursue his work.

In the light of recurring plague epidemics of late 19th and early 20th centuries which had taken a heavy toll of human life in India biochemical research to find ways to overcome the scourge assumed great importance. When Sahib Singh Sokhey had joined the Haffkine Institute, complaints were pouring in from all over India about the extreme toxicity of the plague vaccine prepared and supplied by the Institute. The Director of Public Health, Punjab came down to the Institute to complain in person.¹⁰ However, the *Report of the Haffkine Institute, 1926*, stated that *'the vaccine was now so well received that hardly a complaint was made about its reaction after inoculation. People have learnt to accept a reaction and a swollen arm and if this does not occur, consider themselves aggrieved'*.¹¹ When Sokhey critically analysed the whole matter, he found that the production of the vaccine was relegated to the staff members not properly trained; the production methods were crude without proper control of conditions and the method of the standardisation of the vaccine was erratic. Therefore, to make the production of plague vaccine free from these defects, he had to start investigation from the very beginning studying minutely every detail involved.¹²

After thorough research to minimise toxicity in the plague vaccines, Sokhey decided to use liquid vaccine instead of agar grown vaccine. For sterilizing the vaccine, big sterilizers with recorders were installed. He also established a huge incubating room, which was accurately temperature controlled and properly fitted up to handle, with thousands of flasks wherein grew the deadly micro-organisms. After trying out various methods of killing the live organisms by heat at a specific temperature, by phenyl mercuric nitrate, etc. ultimately, formaline was found be

9. *Report of the Haffkine Institute, 1932-35*, p. 2.

10. *Bibliographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Indian National Science Academy*, Vol. 4, National Institute of Science, Delhi, August, 1976, p. 141.

11. *Report of the Haffkine Institute, 1926*, p. 2.

12. *Bibliographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Indian National Science Academy*, Vol. 4, National Institute of Science, Delhi, August, 1976, p.141.

the best. The formaline treatment not only killed the organisms but also decreased the toxicity of the vaccine without affecting its protective power. Sokhey also tried to measure the volume of carbon dioxide produced by a culture as a result of respiration because he thought that it would act as an index of microbial population. But this was not a reliable method.¹³

Lt. Col. Sokhey and Dr. S.N. Gore, both Assistant Directors at Haffkine Institute, further elaborated certain tests for the detection of contaminants in the vaccine. Systematic examination of the heart blood of 311 passages rats was made. Ultimately, Dr. Gore worked out a method of viable counts by planting on blood agar serial dilutions of a culture and counting the number of colonies that grew up.¹⁴ Dr. Gore's investigation showed that the blood agar medium had given greater certainty in the detection of contaminating organisms in the prepared vaccines and thereby an increased purity in the finished vaccines.¹⁵

Dr. Sokhey and Dr. La Frenais continued their investigations with a view to elaborating a biological method for the standardization of Haffkine's prophylactic. The research had further elaborated the technique of standardizing the virus, and from the result of their experiments it appeared that it was possible, by a simple culture method, to prepare a virus of standard virulence the bacterial content of which varied within narrow limits.¹⁶ From 1929, Sokhey was working out a method of accurate standardization of plague vaccine and measuring its protective power. He conducted various experiments from the beginning, standardizing every parameter involved in the test. Initially, for his experiments, he used rats from Madras which were free from plague, but they gave erratic results. Then he used Albino Swiss white mouse (previously considered to be unsuitable for research) which gave reliable results and Sokhey discovered that white mouse, if bred under standardized conditions in the laboratory, was the animal of choice for plague experiments. He had evolved an exact biological method for the standardization process; every condition of the experiment was fully standardized so that the method could be employed by any worker anywhere.¹⁷ This was the first instance of a successful standardization of a bacterial antigen and marked a great advance in plague vaccine research work. It raised the protective power of plague vaccine to thirty times.¹⁸

Vaccines were used as prophylactic public health measures to prevent people from catching the infection. But they were of no use to cure infection. The research for cure for plague was also carried out. The problem of finding an effective

13. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

14. *Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, 1930*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1932, p. 281.

15. *Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, 1928*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1931, p. 200.

16. *Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, 1929*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1932, p. 200.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 216.

18. *Report of the Haffkine Institute, 1932-35*, p. 6.

therapeutic measure for the treatment of human plague was tackled in two ways viz., by producing a potent anti-plague serum and by the chemotherapeutic treatment of the disease.¹⁹ Since 1927, Dr. Naidu had been studying the therapeutic value of anti-plague serum. With the help of his assistants he prepared anti-plague serum from rabbits, sheep, calves and buffaloes. He tested the sera of these animals in experimentally infected rabbits for their curative property and then carried out a trial at Lingampalli Plague Hospital, Hyderabad.²⁰ Sokhey also tried horse to prepare anti-plague serum. He also worked out the methods of concentrating and standardising the anti-plague serum.²¹ Experiments on the chemotherapeutic treatment of plague were carried out by Rev. Father Caius and Dr. Wadia. When both the treatments were given extensive field trials under strictly controlled conditions, the efficacy of anti-plague serum was established. Because from the clinical point of view, the improvement in some cases was remarkable, the fever going down, eyes becoming clear, delirium disappearing and the heart improving in tone within a few hours of injecting it.²²

The Chemotherapy Department of the Haffkine Institute synthesised a large number of sulpha drugs. In 1939, sulphathiazole was tested against plague and the remarkable curative properties of this drug were discovered for the first time. Moreover, it had many advantages like it could be taken orally, was cheap to prepare and did not deteriorate on storage.²³ Later on, a number of other related sulpha drugs like sulphadiazine, sulphamerazine were also found effective. After the advent of anti-biotic era, it was found that streptomycine, the tetracyclines and chloramphenicol also possessed striking curative properties. The results achieved in the laboratory were immediately confirmed by the extensive field trials which were conducted with meticulous accuracy and under strict control.²⁴ Thus, plague no longer remained such a dreaded disease as the metaphor.

In 1938, Lt. Col. Sokhey created the Entomology Department to undertake field investigations on the epidemiology of plague. One problem that intrigued the researchers was the persistence of plague in the Deccan Plateau. In 1940-41, a field unit of the Haffkine Institute took up a study in Sholapur, Belgaum and Dharwar and collected data for year and a half. The rodents did not seem to carry over the plague from one season to another. During the hot season, infection was only confined to burrows and from burrow to burrow through the agency of

19. *Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, 1929*, Vol. 1, Calcutta, 1932, p. 201.

20. *Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, 1930*, Vol. 1, Calcutta, 1932, pp. 282, 303.

21. *Bibliographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Indian National Science Academy*, Vol. 4, National Institute of Science, Delhi, August, 1976, p. 144.

22. *Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, 1930*, Vol. 1, Calcutta, 1932, pp. 282, 303.

23. *Report of the Haffkine Institute, 1939*, p. 5.

24. *Bibliographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Indian National Science Academy*, Vol. 4, National Institute of Science, Delhi, August, 1976, p. 144.

house rats, without causing an epidemic or epizootic. In fair weather, however, the dispersal of infection took place with the movement of grain from a particular village to a neighbouring grain centre and thence to other villages. Since epizootics remained in grain centres for long periods, rat population became largely immune.²⁵ Thereafter, an extensive field research was also carried out in the Cumbun Valley in Madura District of the province of Madras, which was one of the endemic centres of the disease. The length of the life of the infected flea, methods to de-infect the grain bags and other articles through which infected fleas and rats could transmit the disease, the effectiveness of cyanogas fumigation of rat holes as an anti-plague measure and the evolution of the rat-proof hut suitable for rural conditions were among the various matters associated with the plague problem which the investigation unit in that area studied. The team reported that systematic use of cyanogas would help to keep down the rat population and thus the incidences of plague.²⁶ Sokhey concluded that certain endemic areas, especially, in cool and moderately damp places, existed in different parts of India extending from the Himalayas in the north through central and eastern India to the Deccan and the province of Madras.²⁷

The studies on plague and plague vaccine, the hallmark of the Haffkine Institute, took up major portion of Sokhey's time and efforts. He made outstanding contributions in the field of research. A well known researcher in the field of plague, Dr. Karl Meyer of Hooper Foundation, San Francisco acclaimed Sokhey as a pioneer in the immunology of plague and he conceded that others like him were just putting up the super-structures on the foundations laid by Sokhey.²⁸

The Pharmacology Department of the Haffkine Institute carried out valuable research on indigenous drugs. Father Caus and K.S. Mhaskar examined Indian plant remedies reputed to be of great value in snake-bites. About 314 individual plants and 184 combinations of different plants were tested but none of them had any preventive antidotal or therapeutic effects on animals injected with lethal doses of venom. Apart from it, the use of bark of *Alstonia scholaris* and hydrochlorides of two alkaloids (*ditamine* and *echitamine*) for the treatment of dysentery; *Mangostin* extracted from the dried rind of the fruit of *Garcinia mangostana* Linn., as an anti-diarrhoeal agent; effect of *Hydrocotyle asiatica* Linn., and the leaves of *Melia azadirachta* Linn., on blood sugar, and therapeutic value of *Symplocos racemosa* Robx., was also studied.²⁹ Due to world-wide economic depression the Government of India was facing financial stringency. Therefore, in 1933, the Pharmacology Department was temporarily closed. Sokhey and his

25. Mridula Ramanna, 'The Haffkine Institute. 1899-1947', p.579.

26. *Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee*, Vol. I, 1946, p. 117.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 115,116.

28. *Bibliographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Indian National Science Academy*, Vol. 4, National Institute of Science, Delhi, August, 1976, p.141.

29. *Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, 1930*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1932, p. 283.

colleagues condemned the Government action and remarked that the proper place for a study of indigenous drugs was a scientific laboratory and not *Ayurvedic* or *Unani* hospitals controlled by men 'quite innocent of the scientific outlook and training in scientific methods'.³⁰

Serum Department, established in 1940, produced tetanus; diphtheria, dysentery and gas gangrene antitoxins; the tetanus and diphtheria toxoids and the polyvalent antivenin. These medications were tested on horses.³¹ The Diagnostic Section of the Haffkine Institute carried out bacteriological, serological, pathological and biochemical tests for various hospitals and dispensaries of the Bombay Presidency. About 3000 Wasserman tests (serological examination) were conducted.³²

The Biochemical Unit of the Institute was engaged in research on haemoglobin, colour index saturation and volume index standards, anaemia, basal metabolism and effects of ammonia-ions on blood sugar. Kahn tests (blood grouping), agglutination tests for enteric groups, blood tests of red blood corpuscles, white blood corpuscles and platelets count for malaria and filarial were also conducted.³³ The Unit, under the guidance of Sokhey, also carried out anaemia enquiry. It was noticed in the study of sprue that anaemia in some cases of that disease had a close resemblance to the blood conditions found in pernicious anaemia. The researchers of the Maternal Mortality Enquiry had also observed that a severe anaemia with a normal or high colour index was an important cause of death during pregnancy in Bombay. Sokhey made an intensive study of macrocytic anaemia with a high colour index to find out how sprue and the severe anaemia of pregnancy differed from pernicious anaemia. He discovered that the cause of these types of anaemia was due to some deficiency in the liver. When the liver of such cases, who were moribund with a cell count as low as half a million, was treated they showed a dramatic change in five days. Sokhey also studied the fat metabolism of the intestinal contents; the secretion of digestive juices; the fat, protein and calcium contents of blood and the functional efficiency of the stomach, liver, pancreas and kidney.³⁴

The Haffkine Institute organised a Blood Bank in 1942 in collaboration with the Red Cross. Arrangements were also made to test plasma and serum samples sent by different blood banks.³⁵

30. *Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, 1933*, Vol. 1, Calcutta, 1935, p. 119; *Report of the Haffkine Institute, 1932-35*, p. 9.

31. *Bibliographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Indian National Science Academy*, Vol. 4, National Institute of Science, Delhi, August, 1976, p. 138.

32. *Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, 1933*, Vol. 1, Calcutta, 1935, p. 198.

33. *Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, 1929*, Vol. 1, Calcutta, 1932, p. 200.

34. *Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, 1928*, Vol. 1, Calcutta, 1931, p. 201; *Bibliographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Indian National Science Academy*, Vol. 4, National Institute of Science, Delhi, August, 1976, p. 140.

35. Mridula Ramanna, 'The Haffkine Institute, 1899-1947', p. 582.

The production of anti-rabic vaccine in the Haffkine Institute was started in 1922. Its demand increased to such an extent that by 1939, the Institute was providing anti-rabic vaccine to 101 centres in the Bombay Presidency.³⁶

Tuberculosis inquiry was transferred from Kasauli to the Haffkine Institute. Dr. M.B. Soparkar conducted his research on 65 cases to study the nature of surgical tuberculosis. In all the cases *human tubercle* was found to be the cause. However, a strain isolated from cervical glands of a girl in Bombay was found to be of the bovine type. Experiments on the filterability of the *tubercle bacillus* were carried out. An important part of this research was the study of *Bacillus Calmette Guerin* (BCG) as an immunizing agent.³⁷

During the Second World War a technique of dressing the war wounds with cod liver oil and sulphonamide paste was invented and a pad impregnated with sulphanilamide was evolved. The Department of Chemotherapy successfully worked out with a modern pilot plant, an economical method, for the large scale production of sulpha drugs and the newer anti-malarial paldrine. The Haffkine Institute provided these drugs much below the prevailing market prices. It researched on penicillin also and manufactured vitamin A concentrate. Experiments on the preparation of vitamins A-D and B-C tablets were also carried out.

M.V. Radhakrishna Rao, of the Nutrition Department, which was set-up in 1944, was sent to USA, Canada and Australia by the Haffkine Institute to study the latest developments in laboratory techniques, nutrition clinics, school feeding schemes and the training of nutrition workers.³⁸

When Lt. Col. Sahib Singh Sokhey retired, the Haffkine Institute had nine departments viz., Vaccine Department; Serum and Anti-Toxin Department; Pharmacology Department; Biochemistry Department; Chemotherapy Department; Entomology Department; Nutrition and Experimental Department, Virus Diseases Department and Clinical Pathology Department, and five associated field inquiries, namely treatment of plague with sulphathiazole; investigation of plague in Sholapur and adjoining districts; leptopirosis; typhus and nutritional factors in hepatic cirrhosis. All the departments and research inquiries, headed by Indian doctors and scientists, designated as Assistant Director, worked under able supervision and guidance of bold and courageous Sokhey. There were 27 officer-assistants. Irrespective of caste and creed, Sokhey selected for all posts the best men available in the country and gave them all the encouragement. He was also ruthless in weeding out the inefficient and the incompetent. He had the administrative and executive abilities to an uncommon degree. Sokhey cultivated contacts with agencies outside India. Two hundred members of the Far Eastern Association Tropical Medicine and members of the interchange of the League of Nations visited the Haffkine Institute.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 581.

37. *Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, 1928*, Vol. 1, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 202, 221-222.

38. Mridula Ramanna, 'The Haffkine Institute, 1899-1947', pp.582-584.

Under Dr. Sokhey, the Haffkine Institute was exceptionally well equipped both for routine and research work and especially, for public health laboratory work, preparation of biological products and clinical work. Special features of the Institute equipment were constant temperature room at 0°C, 4°C, 23°C, 28°C and 37°C. Five rooms were air conditioned in connection with the blood bank and the preparations of the anti-toxins. Ample laboratory accommodation for all purposes was available and there were excellent animal houses, including stables and paddocks for 150 horses. It had a comprehensive library having 12,000 bound volumes. The Institute subscribed to 200 journals and periodicals. Most of the research work was financed by the Institute itself out of its budget except four research inquiries, i.e. Plague Inquiry, the work on Pharmacology of anti-malarial drugs, the Typhus Inquiry and the Inquiry into Nutritional factors in Hepatic Cirrhosis, which were funded by Indian Research Fund Association.³⁹ Sokhey was a scientist and a researcher in the true sense. While discussing the penicillin project in a meeting, one of the ministers asked him, "*Sokhey, you want two crores of rupees; what will happen if you do not succeed?*" Sokhey replied, "*You just loose two crores but look at the experience we would have gathered.*"⁴⁰ The Haffkine Institute was also a training centre for Medical and Public Health Officers and Sanitary Inspectors in anti-plague measures. In 1945-46, about Rs. 12 lakhs were spent on improved accommodation and equipment.⁴¹ When Sokhey joined the institute he '*found it a stone and left it a marble.*'⁴² Therefore, it would not be wrong to say that the grandeur of the Haffkine Institute, Bombay reached its pinnacle under redoubtable Lt. Col. Sahib Singh Sokhey as its Director.

39. *Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee*, Vol. 1, 1946, pp. 191-192.

40. *Bibliographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Indian National Science Academy*, Vol. 4, National Institute of Science, Delhi, August, 1976, p.149.

41. *Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee*, Vol. 1, 1946, p. 191.

42. *Bibliographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Indian National Science Academy*, Vol. 4, National Institute of Science, Delhi, August, 1976, p.139.

THE INDIAN PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT OF 1930s AND ITS IMPACT ON KASHMIR

Joshina Jammwal*

During 1920s the Left emerged as a dominant socio-political group in India. With its Marxist socialist ideology and two prominent political parties – Communist Party of India (CPI) and Communist Socialist Party (CSP), it mobilized various sections of society especially workers and peasants.¹ They functioned within the Congress as an ideological left bloc on the initiative of Jawaharlal Nehru with the basic objective of gaining independence and ultimately socialism. It attempted to transform India's politics and society.²

The new-left trend and its radical anti-colonial nationalism charged the imagination of elites and masses alike. It started asserting itself not only in the political and economic but also in the cultural sphere as well. The development of Indian cultural movement since 1930s was closely associated with the left led Trade Union Movement and Kisan Movement in the country which awakened millions not only to political consciousness but also uplifted their aesthetic sensibilities and creativities.³ The radical pattern of political social dynamics awakened the new generation of writers to the grim realities of life that ran counter to the traditional views of their forefathers and colonial masters. Besides this, the changing international circumstances - economic crisis which engulfed the world, dictatorship of Hitler in Germany and serious threat of Fascism from 1933 throwing its shades on Europe threatened to destroy the basic values of humanity and culture.⁴ The need was felt among the intellectuals of the world to frustrate the fascist design and to save civilization and culture. So for the defence of culture – A world conference of writers was held in Paris in 1935.⁵ Moreover, in 1934, Soviet Writers Congress conducted debate on the subject of social realism

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1. Shashi Joshi & Bhagwan Joshi, "Struggle For Hegemony in India", 1920-1947, *Culture, Community and Power*, Vol.III, 1941-1947, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1994, p. 326. Also quoted in Bipan Chandra, "India's Struggle for Independence" Penguin Book Publications, Delhi, 1989, p.296.
2. Shashi Joshi, "Struggle For Hegemony In India", 1920-1947, *The Colonial State, The Left & The National Movement*, Vol.I, 1920-1934, Sage Publications, Delhi, 1992, pp. 158-159, 352; Bipan Chandra, *op.cit.*, p.296.
3. E.M.S. Namboodiripad, 'Half A Century of Marxist Cultural Movement in India', in Sudhi Pradhan (ed.), *Marxist Cultural Movement in India*, Vol. I, Pushak Bipani Publications, p.20.
4. Ghulam Nabi Khayal, *Progressive Literary Movement in Kashmir*, Khayalaat Publishers, Srinagar, pp. 66- 67; also in *Annual of Urdu Studies*, p.41.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 186.

and modernism and deliberated to devise measures for creative work infused with socialism by strengthening ties with masses.⁶ It was these changing dynamics (social, economic and political) at home and abroad that helped to forge a new literary consciousness among the Urdu writers, who were influenced by cosmopolitan outlook and experiences. Sajjad Zaheer, Mulk Raj Anand and others closely followed the development of anti-fascist cultural front and established an organization in London - **The Progressive Writers' Association**.⁷

However, the concept of Progressive Writers Movement was a brain child of some progressive young intellectuals: in reaction to fascist, colonial, communal, racial, imperialistic and capitalistic forces on the global map. And in India, the architect of the movement was Sajjad Zaheer who established All India Progressive Writers Association in Lucknow on 10 April, 1936 in tune with Indian Progressive Writers Association set up in London in 1935.⁸

The genesis of the Progressive Writers' Movement could also be located in the bitter public controversy produced by the publication of Urdu anthology, "*Angare*" in Lucknow in 1932 by four young authors; Sajjad Zaheer and his friends; Ahmad Ali, Rashid Jahan and Mahmud-uz-Zafar. The volume of "*Angare*" sparked considerable public controversy due to its direct criticism of middle class Muslim mores and practices, gender relation, socio-economic inequality and impact of foreign rule. Though the book was banned by the United Province Legislature, the writers justified their literary effort by fighting for it in the press. This progressive writing can be seen as having sprang from this public controversy. This was considered as the first example of progressive writing in Urdu.⁹

The radical Indian intellectual group of Sajjad Zaheer and Mulk Raj Anand who had proximity with British labour, Marxist circle and international brigade against fascism, formulated the manifesto which was political and cultural in its content and articulated aims and aspirations of the progressive movement.¹⁰ Sajjad Zaheer circulated it, as he wanted to elicit wide response and support from different circles - intellectuals, political leaders, social activists and others for the movement. Agreeing to its tenets, the manifesto was signed by Jawaharlal Nehru, Acharya

6. *Ibid.*, p.16.

7. Carlo Coppola, 'The All India Progressive Writers Association : The European Phase', Marxist influences and South Asian Literature", Vol.1, Paper no. 23, South Asian Series, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1974, pp. 1-34; also quoted in the first chapter "A Greater Story - Writer than God: Genre, Gender and Minority in late Colonial India" by Aamir R. Mufti; A Book of Partha Chatterjee and Pradeep Jeganathan entitled: *Community, Gender and Violence*, Subaltern Studies XI, Permanent Black Publications, Delhi, 2009, p. 6; also quoted in *Annual of Urdu Studies*, entitled Professor Ahmad Ali and Progressive Writers Movement, published in *Dawn*; Feb.1994, p.42.

8. Dr. Farooq Fayaz, Review of the book, "Progressive Literary Movement in Kashmir" *Daily Excelsior Magazine*, Sept. 25, 2011, p. 3.

9. Carlo Coppola, Prem Chand's address to the first meeting of All India Progressive Writers Association: Some Speculations, *Journal of South Asian Literature*, Michigan State University, Vol.2, No.2, p.21.

10. *Ibid.*, p.21.

Narender Dev and the major doyen of Urdu- Abdul Haq, Josh Malihabadi, Prem Chand and others.¹¹

The manifesto of the Progressive Writers' Movement (PWM) urged the necessity to bring the work of art into the closest touch with the people through focusing on the problems of hunger, poverty, social backwardness and political subjugation.¹² The idea was to set up provincial branches and to establish as many centres as possible throughout India. The earliest centre of All India Progressive Writers' Association (AIPWA) was established in Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) under the direction of Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf (CPI member and Reader in History at Aligarh Muslim University) and Dr. Abdul Aleem. The other organizers included Oxford educated Hirender Nath Mukherjee in Calcutta and Sibtae Hasan in Hyderabad (Deccan). Zaheer himself travelled to Amritsar and Lahore to meet with the Punjabi writers for the purpose of eliciting support for the movement. Among those who supported were Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabussam and Akhtar Sherani. Mohammad Iqbal, too offered his verbal and moral support for the movement.¹³ This was followed by the first meeting of All India Progressive Writers' Association (AIPWA) at Lucknow in 1936; gathering together country's most distinguished writers, communist socialist party workers and others interested in new literature of national and social freedom. The conference was presided over by the doyen of Hindi-Urdu narratives- Munshi Prem Chand.¹⁴

Many of the leading writers of the progressive association were either ardent communists or the followers of communist ideology. It was the similarity of the principles, objectives and the ideologies—anti-feudalism, anti-capitalism, socialism and social revolution which identified Progressive Writers' Movement with the left movement.¹⁵

Prem Chand's presidential address at the foundation conference declared the doctrines of the progressive movement explicitly and viewed literature in a entirely different manner. According to him, "Literature is best defined as the criticism of life, whether in the form of essay, story or poem". The chief function of literature is to present an honest critical view of life.¹⁶ He declared in his address, "I do not hesitate to declare that I also measure art with the rod of usefulness. The literature which does not produce activity, strength, resolution and determination to achieve victory over difficulty is useless today. It must make us alive, make us think".¹⁷ He professed : The literature is the one which is thought

11. *Ibid.*, p.22; Also in Ghulam Nabhi Khayal, *op.cit.*, p.187.

12. Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India, 1885-1947*, MacMillan Limited, Delhi, 2002, p. 342.

13. Carlo Coppola, Premchand's address to the first meeting of AIPWA, *op.cit.*, p.22.

14. *Ibid.*, p.24.

15. E.M.S. Namboodiripad, 'Half A Century of Marxist Cultural Movement in India', in Sudhi Pradhan (ed.), *Marxist Cultural Movement in India*, Vol. I, pp. 20-21.

16. Carlo Coppola, Premchand's address to AIPWA, *op.cit.*, p. 25.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

provoking, fond of freedom, artistically appealing, capable of moving, evolving and transforming the people by enlightening them and making them more aware instead of lulling them to sleep which is no better than death.¹⁸ He dramatically concluded his speech with the statement that the new literature should not put us to sleep, for further slumber would mean death.¹⁹ In short, Prem Chand presided over this meeting is probably the best manifesto of the entire Progressive Writers Movement even up to now because it lays down clearly the main objectives the literature generally and of the progressive writings particularly.²⁰

It was resolved in the foundation conference that the progressivism in literature was to change the earlier standard of writings and the writers must turn away from the privileged to common man as the subject of his writing.²¹ The literary works must advocate the cause of downtrodden, oppressed and exploited individuals or groups. Now, it is the duty of Indian writers to give expression to the changes taking place in Indian life and to assist the spirit of progress in the country by introducing nationalism in literature and to discourage the reactionary tendencies on questions like religion, family, sex, war and society. So, progressivism in literature must examine institutions and customs in the light of reason.²²

The progressive movement was the spectrum of different shades of political and literary opinions with Prem Chand – a confirmed Gandhian at the one end and Sajjad Zaheer – a confirmed Marxist at the other end. In between them, there were various other shades but every one of them were interested in social realism and in the freedom of the country.²³ Prominent among them, besides Prem Chand and Mulk Raj Anand were Ali Sardar Jafri, Ahmad Ali, Jan Nishar Akhtar, Hussain Raipuri, Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, Shahid Latif, Sadat Hasan Manto, Rajinder Singh Bedi, Ismat Chughtai, Kishan Chander, Muhammad Hasan Askari, Upendranath Ashk and numerous others.²⁴

Mulk Raj Anand who was the founding member of the association, delivered speech at the second convention of the All India Progressive Writers' Association (AIPWA) at Calcutta in 1938, argued that the goal of social realism is the portrayal of all those realism in obscure lanes and alleys.²⁵ The craft of a committed writer should reflect the degraded life of peasants' miseries as pre-condition of realism. The writers should use their craft as means of exposing injustice and exploitation.

18. Sobia Kiran, 'Modernism and the Progressive Movement in Urdu Literature', *American International Journal of Contemporary Research*, Vol. 2, March 2012, p. 178.

19. Carlo Coppola, Premchand's address to AIPWA, *op.cit.*, p.28.

20. A.G. Noorani, 'Socialists and Writers', *Frontline*, India's National Magazine, Vol.29, Issue 16: August 11-24, 2012.

21. Carlo Coppola, Premchand's address to AIPWA, *op.cit.*, p. 27.

22. Mushirul Hasan (ed.), *Towards Freedom*, 1939, Part 2, ICHR Publications, Oxford, 2008, p. 1478.

23. Sumit Sarkar, *op.cit.*, p.222.

24. Aamir R. Mufti, *op.cit.*, p.7.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

The proof of the popularity of this movement was the representative works of Sajjad Zaheer, Krishan Chander, Rajinder Singh Bedi, Saddat Hasan Manto, Ismat Chughtai and Faiz Ahmad Faiz etc. They addressed the problems faced by farmers, women, labourers etc. They wanted freedom, equality, justice and democracy to replace slavery, partiality, injustice and dictatorship. In short, their literature was the literature of protest.²⁶

Mulk Raj Anand's novels, "*Untouchable*" (1935), "*Coolie*" (1936) and Prem Chand's "*Godan*" (1936) as a narrative has a secular nationalist consciousness as its defining characteristics. The emergence of this consciousness influenced by Nehruvian progressive aesthetics of 1930s under the influence of socialist concept of art, work and society, telling the truth of society- the social realism. This was the highest form possible in a colonial society. Anand's novel "*Untouchable*" presented the subaltern protagonist, *Bakha*, who struggled with the socio-religious institution of caste society. Both novels "*Untouchable*" and "*Coolie*" set the entire generation of intellectuals' thinking about India's social evils. His literary works - novels and short-stories brought into sharp focus the dehumanizing condition within the colonized Indian society.²⁷ Prem Chand's last and greatest novel "*Godan*" (1936) is a stark picture of peasant misery totally lacking in Gandhian idealism and optimism of his earlier work, "*Rangbhoomi*" of 1925. The influence of left reflected in the essays like "*Mahajani Sabhyata*" written just before his death, is a bitter critique of capitalism.²⁸

The progressive movement had deep impact on Urdu literary works. The Progressive Writers' Association (PWA) attained its greatest strength in the world of Urdu literature because of its inter-regional and also urban span. Its leading figures included Hasrat Mohani (Political activist and distinguished composer of Ghazals), Josh Malihabadi, Firaq Gorakhpuri, Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Kishan Chander, Kaifi Azmi, Majaz and others.²⁹ Sajjad Zaheer's novel, "*London Ki Ek Raat*" (1936) depicted the angst of young men and revolutionaries towards British repressive policies. "*London Ki Ek Raat*" can be seen as one of the earliest example of anti-colonial nationalist literary writing.³⁰ The relationship of Urdu literature with the canonical forms of Indian nationalism in the two decades before partition is perhaps the most secular period in the history of modern Urdu literature. Secular literature were produced from Urdu literary circle. The writers like Sadat Hasan Manto, Ismat Chughtai, Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Miraz, Rajinder Singh Bedi, Mohammad Hasan Askari and Upendranath Ashk developed in their writings a realistic practice and strengthened national rather than separatist communal posture.³¹

26. Sobia Kiran, *op.cit.*, p. 178.

27. Aamir R. Mufti, *op.cit.*, p. 11.

28. Sumit Sarkar, *op.cit.*, p. 342.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 343.

30. *The Annual of Urdu Studies*, p. 164.

31. Aamir R. Mufti, *op.cit.*, pp. 6-7.

Moreover, the progressive movement's period saw the disappearance of national literary form - the novel and instead new self confident short stories and lyric poetries as a primary genre of narrative emerged to depict social realism. It was adopted by the whole new generation of writers.³² In poetries, these changes were signaled by transformation of classical Urdu lyric into ghazal form. The progressive movement widened the horizon of Urdu poetry, liberated it from its classical form and gave it an ideological content which connected it with the people.³³ Poetries and literature were used as a weapon in the freedom struggle. Many progressive poets actually participated in the freedom struggle and wrote their experiences in prison as well. The theme of poetries recorded all aspects of human life of India; feeling of restlessness, fear, instability and British subjugation. The feeling of pain came out in writing revolutionary poetries. Faiz's notable works; "*Naqsh-e-Faryadi*", "*Dast-e-Sabha*" and "*Zindannama*" became popular.³⁴ Poets like Majaz, Ali Sardar Jafri, Rai Muttalabi Jazbi, Majrooh Sultanpuri and Josh Malihabadi through their writings desired independence and firmly believed in social equality and inspired workers, peasants and youths to participate in the freedom struggle. They wrote revolutionary poems to overthrow the foreign government. Majaz's poems became very popular with the workers of Kanpur, Bombay and other places. His well known poem "*Sarmayadari*" denounced intensely capitalism and its exploitative prospects. His poems, "*Hamara Zhanda*" (Our Banner), "*Majdoor Ke Geet*" (Songs of Workers), "*Gadaar*" (Traitor), "*Mazdoor Hain Hum*" (We are Workers) inspired workers and became very popular among them. Similarly, Majrooh Sultanpuri and Josh Malihabadi also focused on progressive ideas in their ghazals and poetries.³⁵

Hence, Progressive Writers' Movement (PWM) provided all writers, poets and artists the right climate to blossom, to depict all aspects of human life and values and longed the world free of oppression, injustice and poverty which was lost in the modern commercial age.³⁶ Moreover, all those writers, poets and artists who practiced these idioms and ideologies in their writings, whether they were the members of Progressive Writers' Association or not were termed as Progressives. In other words, All that arouses in us the critical spirit, which examines institutions and customs in the light of reason, which help us to act, to organise ourselves, to transform, we accept it as Progressive. This progressivism in literature contributed in creation of some of the finest pieces of fiction and poetry and became a trend setter for the coming generations. The movement

32. *Ibid.*, p.9.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

34. Arthar Murtaza, *Art, Life, Myth: Aspects of the Poetic theory and Practice of Faiz Ahmad Faiz*, Washington State University, p.161; and article in *Times of India* entitled Celebrates the Cenetary of Faiz Ahmad Faiz : Reports and Commentary, 13 Feb. 2011.

35. Mushirul Hasan, *op.cit.*, p. 1476.

36. Ahmad Ali, "The Progressive Writers Movement and Creative Writers in Urdu", Paper submitted at Social realism in the South Asian context panel at the 24th Annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, New York City, 29 March, 1972.

spread rapidly in the sub-continent encompassing the varied disciplines of literature, music, art and cinema.³⁷

Moreover, the major effort at revitalization of folk culture through the formation of Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA) started in 1942 – showed the new trend in cultural movement in India.³⁸ The Indian People's Theatre Association gives valuable insight into the understanding of the relationship between art and politics.³⁹ The recent example of the interweaving of political and cultural history comes from the collective work of the Subaltern Studies Group (SSG), based in India and led by Ranajit Guha. The aim was to give due place to different dominated groups (The Subaltern Classes as Gramsci used to call them) alongside the elites whose activities filled earlier histories of independence.⁴⁰ Ranajit Guha's analysis of play on the 1860-61 Indigo Uprising in Bengal by the playwright Dinbandhu Mitra has regarded it as a classical portrayal of bravery and determination of the peasantry in their resistance to colonialism. This was the cry of progressive intelligentsia for the strength of peasant resistance to colonialism and for the construction of new "national - popular" consciousness.⁴¹

However, Ahmad Ali, earlier in the second conference of All India Progressive Writers' Association (AIPWA) (1938), highlighted the vigour and conspicuous freshness of North Indian folk traditions and folk peasant poetry which was to save culture from orthodoxy and imperialism. Also, focus on folk culture, through literature, drama and music was the strategy through which progressive politics could intervene in the process of identity formation and mobilize people and consolidate progressive values in society.⁴²

The Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA) was the cultural wing of the then undivided Communist Party of India and took pride in promoting radical nationalistic consciousness in the country. It was these years that Marxism acquired a significant influence over the cultural life of middle class Calcutta. The party Secretary, P.C. Joshi, the biggest patron of Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA), pioneered imaginative ways of utilizing folk media and other cultural forms for promoting consciousness in Indian society. The Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA) and other cultural fronts were able to attract veritable galaxy of talents like Balraj Sahni, Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, Kaifi Azmi and others.⁴³ Various innovative forms such as street theatre, creative plays and subjects were taken

37. Mashirul Hasan, *op.cit.*, p. 1478; also quoted in the Sudhi Pradhan (ed), *Marxist Cultural Movement in India: Chronicles and Documents (1936-1947)*, pp.20-21.

38. Sumit Sarkar, *op.cit.*, p.343.

39. Kalpana Sahni and P. C. Joshi, *Balraj Sahni and Bhisham Sahni (Brothers in Political Theatre)*, Sahmat Publications, 2012.

40. Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?*, Polity Press Limited, U.K., 2004, p. 104.

41. Partha Chatterjee, Omnibus- Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World, *The Nation and its Fragments, A Possible India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999, p.26.

42. Safdar Mir Zeno, "Cultural Notes: A Writer Committed to Progressivism, Ahmad Ali", *Dawn*, Karachi, 13 June 1986.

43. Sumit Sarkar, *op.cit.*, p.413.

by the organization like "Jana Natya Manch" (JANAM) to reach out to the people and always conveyed what left politics stands for.⁴⁴ Janam has continued to innovate while striving for a greater politicization of its art. The intention was to reach out politically through a creative medium to influence the society which was deeply divided by class, caste and religion. Indian People's Theatre Association contribute in dissemination of progressive ideology and bringing out social awareness and political change. The Theatre groups claimed to have leftist leaning and followed the strategies through which progressive politics and values could intervene to mobilize people against the reactionary values existed in the society. So, the Left Cultural Movement in general and the street theatre movement in particular will have to consolidate all the positive factors against the challenges and pose an organised resistance to the cultural might of the ruling classes.⁴⁵ During 1944-45, Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA) with its central squad raising funds for famine stricken starving Bengal, made a number of country wide tours. This cultural activity ceased to be confined to the narrow circle of upper class.⁴⁶

In the sphere of music, two men with very different visions – Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhade (wrote in the elite language of rational and secular musicology) and Vishnu Digambar Paluskar (populist rhetoric of Bhakti nationalism) worked towards the project of giving distinctive shape and ideology which led to the emergence of devotional nationalistic music.⁴⁷ Previously, there was no particular ideology and music was dominated by religious and ethnic groups. The growth of modern music avoided religious entanglement and started systematic classification and categorization. It transformed its relation with gender, caste, religion and public cultural sphere.⁴⁸ The fifty years of Marxist cultural movement had profound impact on the Indian cultural scene and its roots had struck deep into the soil of India in the form of diverse linguistic cultural antiquities that is existing in this country.⁴⁹

The progressive themes and ideologies were also translated into cinema which familiarized the wider audience with the new ideas of social realism. Sadat Hasan Manto, Rajinder Singh Bedi and Kishan Chander's writings like novels and short stories were casted into films. A short story "Annadata" written by Kishan Chander was made into film in 1946 called "Dharti Ke Lal". This movie blazes trail for realism in screen. In addition to its script and songs, the comprehensive

44. Arjun Ghosh, *A History of The Jana Natya Manch: Plays For People*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2012, p. 197.

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 276, 278.

46. Sumit Sarkar, *op.cit.*, p. 413.

47. Janak Bakhle, *Two Men And Music : Nationalism in the making of an Indian Classical Tradition*, Permanent Black Publications, Ranikhet, 2008, p. 8.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7.

49. E.M.S. Namboodiripad, *Half A Century of Marxist Cultural Movement in India*, in Sudhi Pradhan (ed.), *Marxist Cultural Movement in India*, 3 Vol., Pushak Bipani Publications, p.20.

vision and imagination made it a great film.⁵⁰ Manto's novel was also screened as "*Kisaan kanya*" depicting the miseries and plight of poor peasants. Similarly, Rajinder Singh Bedi's novels, "*Ek Chadar Maili Si*" and "*Garam Coat*" were also translated into films. So, Progressive influence led to the initiation of new era of realistic cinema.⁵¹

The Progressive Movement also widened the canvas of vernacular literature, folk tradition, art and socio-cultural life of other provinces. The Kashmiri writers and artists did not remain immune to its effects. The spirit of progressive ideology and thinking was transported by the members of left oriented, anti-imperialistic Urdu progressive writers and intellectuals who visited Kashmir frequently and held debates and discussions under the banner of Cultural Front.⁵² The Cultural Front gave an impetus to the resurgence in the field of art and literature.⁵³ Among them, Ali Sardar Jafri, Rajinder Singh Bedi, Sajjad Zaheer, Balraj Sahni, Shivdhan Singh Chouhan are notable.⁵⁴

However, before the formal initiation of the progressive movement in Kashmir, Ghulam Ahmad Mahjoor, Abdul Ahad Azad and Dilsoz had already started new path and trend for poetic expression in terms of theme and style. One could also perceive the traces of revolt in their poems.⁵⁵ In the early 1940s, influenced by the progressive movement and its focus on social issues and special portrayal of social reality in Prem Chand's works, Prem Nath Pardesi, the short story writer, aligned himself with the progressive ideology. He transformed his writings to make the public aware about subjugation, poverty and exploitation which were prevalent in Kashmir political climate at that time. He started a literary organization which was the direct outcome of the progressive movement.⁵⁶ A branch of Progressive Writers' Organization was established in association with Ramanand Sagar. This organization remained active in shaping the literary movement in Kashmir till present day. The progressive movement provided an intellectual foundation for new trend which helped in the enrichment of literary works.⁵⁷

In the post-Partition days, when political situation was fluid and fragile and besides external danger, several other reactionary forces were active enough to find a space to address their communal agenda. At this critical juncture of Kashmir's political history, intellectuals associated with progressive literary movement, came

50. Sumit Sarkar, *Towards Freedom . Documents on the movement for independence in India*, Part 1, ICHR Publications, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2008, p.969.

51. "Remembering Manto : keeping Manto's yaad alive , Samrta Gears up for Cenetary", *The Times of India*, 11 May, 2012.

52. Ghulam Nabhi Khayal, *op.cit.*, p.68.

53. P.N.K. Bamzai, *Culture and Political History of Kashmir*, Vol.3, M. D. Publications Private Limited, New Delhi, 1994, p. 871.

54. Ghulam Nabi Khayal, *op.cit.*, p. 68.

55. Dr. Brij Premi, Ariticle on the Progressive Movement in Kashmir ; *Kashmir Sentinel*, translated from original Urdu by Upender Ambedkar.

56. *Ibid.*

57. *Ibid.*

forward and formed the Cultural Front-comprised of writers, poets and enlightened youths.⁵⁸ The Cultural Front became very popular in short span of time and functioned with the three wings, Progressive Writers' Association, Progressive Artists' Association and Progressive Painters' Association.⁵⁹ Its theatre wing followed the IPTA line. A large number of intellectuals were associated with the Cultural Front – the notable among them being Peer Abdul Ahamd, Peer Giasuddin and Noor Mohammad. The senior writers and poets included Ghulam Ahmad Mahjoor, Abdul Sattar Aasi and amongst the younger generation, all prominent writers and artists, the notable among them being Dina Nath Nadim, Rahman Rahi and Som Nath Zutshi etc. Under the influence of progressive movement – many leading Kashmiri Urdu writers shifted from Urdu to Kashmiri for forceful articulation of feelings. Only those literary compositions were appreciated within the Cultural Front Organization, which dealt with social realism, which combated social evils, oppression, injustice and highlighted issues of working class and downtrodden etc.⁶⁰

The Cultural Front assumed the name of Cultural Conference and received a further boost during the brief rule of Chief Minister Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq – a leading communist and strongest proponent of Kashmiri language. The movement impressed upon the writers to use local language in order to present public issues in their mother tongue. It resulted in creating wealth of creative literature in Kashmiri and other local languages.⁶¹ The first Kashmiri literary journal, "*Kong Posh*" started in 1950, provided enough space for promotion of Kashmiri prose. Perhaps, in the absence of such movement, the local language would not have attained such tremendous growth.⁶² Articles and works of giant progressive writers like Majaz, Kishan Chander and Faiz's poetries were translated in Kashmiri language and published in "*Kong Posh*".⁶³ The progressive writers referred in their writings about the exploitation of capitalism, Marxist ideology, socialism, impact of Russian revolution on India and translated works of Leo Tolstoy (War and Peace), Dostovsky (Crime and Punishment), Maxim Gorky (Mother) and Alexander Pushkin which became popular and influenced masses during this time.⁶⁴

The progressive movement provided an intellectual foundation for new genre which helped in enrichment of the content of Kashmiri literature. During the post- partition period in Kashmir, the writers associated with progressive literary movement came forward with dynamism of literary disposition and commitment in their writings, forged consciousness and focused on social

58. Dr. Farooq Fayaz, *op.cit.*, p.3

59. Ghulam Nabhi Khayal, *op.cit.*, pp.69-70.

60. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70,72-73.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

63. *Ibid.*, p.189.

64. *Ibid.*, p.200.

realism.⁶⁵ Dina Nath Nadim, was a torch bearer and doyen of progressive literature. His writings attained dynamism, when he shifted from Urdu to Kashmiri. He wrote revolutionary poetries utilizing form of folk songs in his poems. He also wrote short stories in Kashmiri. His poems "*Soanth*" and "*Graav*" depicted the voice of patriotism, revolution and freedom.⁶⁶ Som Nath Zutshi, who earlier worked as Secretary of Progressive Writers' Organization also shifted from Urdu to Kashmiri and wrote short stories like "*Yeli Phol Gash*" which enjoyed a prime place in Kashmiri language and literature.⁶⁷

Among all progressive writers, Abdul Ahad Azad was a true Marxist and revered as saviour of mankind. His poems on Russian revolution, Marxism and imperialism bear testimony of his consciousness of being progressive. His writings, patriotic poems and ghazals addressing Kashmiri youths, used as a weapon to destroy evils in society and exploitation.⁶⁸ He advocated freedom struggle to relieve man of pains, sorrows and oppression.⁶⁹ His period in the literary history of Kashmir virtually coincides with Mahjoor's and was the outcome of conscious need for social and political freedom.⁷⁰ As a result, contemporary poetry in Kashmir is replete with political and economic problems of people.⁷¹ Similarly, Ghulam Ahmad Mahjoor who was influenced by Balraj Sahni, a renowned theatre personality, wrote songs and folklores for the common man.⁷² Mahjoor voiced the inner urges and feelings of the peasantry and exhorted them to rise and work for change.⁷³ He stimulated the national sentiments and feelings to broadened the domains of Kashmiri language and literature.⁷⁴ Mirja Ghulam Hasan Baig Arif, one of the founders of the progressive movement in Kashmir wrote poems, depicting miseries of helpless and poor Kashmiri people.⁷⁵ In his poem "Kashmiri Craftsman", he has touched a new theme depicting the poverty and want of the producer of the the beautiful handicrafts of Kashmir. His chief contribution was *Rubai*, full of his peculiar wit and irony.⁷⁶ Arif started the publication of trilingual monthly "*Gulrez*". This was brought in three languages – Kashmiri, Urdu and

65. Dr. Farooq Fayaz, *op.cit.*, p.3.

66. Ghulam Nabi Khayal, *op.cit.*, pp. 87, 90.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

68. *Ibid.*, p.80.

69. Abdul Ahad Azad, *Kashmiri Zuban aur Shairi* (Urdu), J&K Cultural Academy, Vol. 1, p. 213, also quoted in Manzoor Fazili, *Socialist Ideas and Movements in Kashmir (1919-1947)*, Eureka Publications, New Delhi, 1980, p.132.

70. Kaumudi, *Kashmir : The Cultural Heritage*, Asia Publishing House, p.81, quoted in Manzoor Fazili, *op.cit.*, p.133.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

72. Ghulam Nabi Khayal, *op.cit.*, p. 83.

73. P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir : Political, Social, Cultural*, Metropolitan Book Co. Limited, Delhi, 1986, p.870, quoted in Manzoor Fazili, *op.cit.*, p. 152.

74. Tameer, Amil Kamil, n.22, p.25, Also quoted in Manzoor Fazili, *op.cit.*, p.153.

75. Ghulam Nabi Kayal, *op.cit.*, pp. 86-87.

76. P.N.K. Bamzai, *Culture and Political History of Kashmir*, Vol.3, M. D. Publications Private Limited, New Delhi, 1994, p. 871.

Persian.⁷⁷ Moreover, Abdul Sattar Aasi and Abdul Sattar Ranjoor wrote the ideas of national revolution, Kashmiri peasants and peace.⁷⁸ Abdul Sattar Aasi was a proletarian poet and was sentenced to three months imprisonment for his poem "*Siasi Qaidi*".⁷⁹ Another progressive intellectual Prem Nath Pardesi, a renowned Urdu and Kashmiri fiction writer propagated traditional communal harmony by writing a drama – "*Quda Gojwari*".⁸⁰ Similarly, Rahman Rahi, a *Jnanpeth* awardee also played an important role in spreading progressive literature and culture.⁸¹ It was the direct result of the recurring literary debates organized by progressive writers that literary personalities like Dina Nath Nadim, Ghulam Nabi Firaq, Amin Kamil, Rahman Rahi, Pran Kishore, Ghulam Nabi Khayal and others emerged on the Kashmir literary platform.⁸² Majaz, who was fascinated with freedom struggle in Kashmir launched in 1931 under Sheikh Abdullah, wrote a poem titled "*Naya Kashmir*" which speaks of hope and aspiration of the coming of new era in Kashmir which earlier faced continued suppression by the autocratic rulers.⁸³

In the sphere of art and culture, the progressive theatre staged different plays which concerned with common man's life, community and social life. In this field, Pran Kishore played prominent role. The theatre wing of the organization increased its activities and the progressive theatre staged plays and dramas which impacted on the social life of Kashmir. It staged Muhammad Hashmi's drama "*Kashmir Yeh Hai*" and "*Choudan Golien*" of Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, in addition to Pardesi's dramas, "*Swali*" and "*Mujahid Sherwani*".⁸⁴ Pran Kishore's theatre shows and plays even broadcasted from radio and staged from different places. His T.V. show ; "*Gul Gulshan Gulfam*" became popular across India which depicted Kashmir's communal social life.⁸⁵

Moreover, in the field of music, Abdul Gani Nemthali, as a public musician, created through his voice a revolutionary effect and gave mesmerizing performances in the rural belt at that time.⁸⁶ Furthermore, a full length movie was made on Mahjoor, a Kashmiri poet, under the direction of Bengali director Prabhat Mukherjee and his role was played by Balraj Sahni's son, Parikshit Sahni.⁸⁷ Similarly, like literature and theatre, Kashmir is not lagging behind in the field of painting. The Amar Singh Technical Institute, established at Srinagar in 1910, was responsible for creating among few young men a taste for painting. But it was after 1931

77. Ghulam Nabi Khayal, *op.cit.*, p.87.

78. *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91,95.

79. G. L. Koul, 'Cultural Heritage', in S.K. Sharma and S.R. Bakshi, *Kashmir: Society and Culture*, Jay Kay Book House, Jammu, 1995, p.147.

80. Ghulam Nabi Khayal, *op.cit.*, pp.121,164.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

82. Dr. Farooq Fayaz, *op.cit.*, p.3.

83. Ghulam Nabi Khayal, *op.cit.*, p. 193.

84. Dr. Brij Premi, *op.cit.*,

85. Ghulam Nabi Khayal, *op.cit.*, pp.70-71.

86. Dr. Brij Premi, *op.cit.*,

87. Ghulam Nabhi Khayal, *op.cit.*, pp. 85-86.

due to the political upsurge that we find a number of artists coming into prominence. Dina Nath Wali's landscapes have been appreciated widely. Ghulam Rasool Santosh, P.N. Kachru, S.N. Butt, Mohan Lal Raina and Bansi Parimoo are artists of note. With the establishment of popular government in 1947, there has been palpable resurgence in the field of art and culture. And Cultural Academy is doing yeoman's service in reviving the cultural traditions and encouraging the growth and proliferation of new ideas and themes. Hence, the progressive movement created awareness through literature, poetry, art and cinema.⁸⁸

However, after 1957-58, in the mid sixties of the nineteenth century; the movement gradually slowed down and lost its original grandeur.⁸⁹ But it took an integrated and unified shape in Kashmir and played a significant role in shaping the distinct literary behaviour which condemned political vandalism, communal outcry, feudal exploitation and cementedly stood for and promoted social amity, plural social fabric, humanity and brotherhood. So, its historical beneficial role cannot be overlooked.⁹⁰

88. P.N.K. Banzai, *Culture and Political History of Kashmir*, Vol.3, M. D. Publications Private Limited, New Delhi, 1994, pp.872-873.

89. Ghulam Nabi Khayal, *op.cit.*, p.101.

90. Dr. Farooq Fayaz, *op.cit.*, p.3.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: EMERGENCE AS AN EMINENT LEADER

*J.S. Grewal**

Talking of the late 1930s, Sardar Swaran Singh recalled that Master Tara Singh was 'at that time recognized as the leader of Akalis by one and all'. Giani Kartar Singh emerged as 'a powerful group leader amongst the Akalis' due to his political insight, honesty of purpose, and his foresight. He was an active member of the Indian National Congress but he used to take an opposite stand 'whenever the interests of the Sikhs were ignored or bypassed by the Congress'. In all such situations, Master Tara Singh was generally in agreement with Giani Kartar Singh. More closely aligned with the Congress among the Akali leaders were Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke, Sardar Ishar Singh Majhail, Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir, and Sardar Partap Singh Kairon. 'Remembering' Giani Kartar Singh in this context of Akali leadership between 1937 and 1947, Sardar Swaran Singh thought of his own peculiar position.

'My father Sardar Partap Singh was one of the founding members of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee', says Sardar Swaran Singh, and goes on to add that 'the front-rank Akali leaders like Baba Kharak Singh and Master Tara Singh' were very close to Sardar Partap Singh as his esteemed colleagues. Giani Kartar Singh came 'in close contact' with Sardar Partap Singh after the SGPC elections of 1926 when Giani Kartar Singh began to take keen interest in its affairs. As a young man, Swaran Singh came to know almost all the important Akali leaders who 'frequently called upon my father for political parleys and consultations'. When Swaran Singh had a short stint at Khalsa College as a Lecturer after completing his college education, he watched the political activities of Giani Kartar Singh who used to take keen interest in the affairs of Khalsa College, Lyallpur, as one of the foremost Akali leaders of the Lyallpur district.¹

Born in August 1907 in village Shankar in the Jullundur district, Swaran Singh had received his school education in the village itself and then gone to Randhir College, Kapurthala for Intermediate in Science. The Calendar of the Panjab University shows that Swaran Singh received the degree of Master of Science in Physics in 1930 at Government College, Lahore. In July 1931, he was a candidate for admission to the LL.B. class at Law College, Lahore. He was already married. 'Father', Sardar Partap Singh, is mentioned as an 'agriculturist'.

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1. Swaran Singh, 'Remembering Giani Kartar Singh', Giani Kartar Singh: *A Commemorative Volume*, ed. Jasdev Singh Sandhu, Patiala: 2001, pp. 89-91.

The year of passing 'the first examination in law' is also given as 1931. It seems, therefore, that Swaran Singh joined the LL.B. class in 1930. Therefore, his short stint as Lecturer at Khalsa College, Lyallpur, came in 1930 after his M.Sc examination and before his admission to Law. He was 23 years old at that time. After graduation in Law, he started practising as a lawyer in Jullundur. At the age of 30 he fought elections to the Punjab Legislative Assembly as an Akali candidate in 1937, but he was not elected. In 1946, however, he was elected member of the Punjab Assembly as a Panthic candidate.

Sardar Swaran Singh says that his father was Vice-President and Acting President of the SGPC before he assumed Presidentship of this 'premier organization' of the Sikhs.² In the records of the SGPC, Sardar Partap Singh appears as a member of the Executive Committee in June 1930. Three years later, he was elected Acting President of the SGPC on the resignation of Sardar Gopal Singh Kaumi. The first resolution passed under the presidentship of Sardar Partap Singh was against the Communal Award: 'Resolved that this first general meeting of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee places on record its considered opinion that any constitution based on the Communal Award will be entirely unacceptable to the Sikh Community and reiterates the determination of the Panth not to submit to any such constitution'. Sardar Partap Singh presided over a number of meetings of the SGPC as elected President in 1934-36 which reflected the strained relations of Giani Sher Singh with Master Tara Singh. Some of the important resolutions passed in these meetings include appreciation of the service of Shiromani Akali Dal from the beginning of the Gurdwara Movement, disapproval of the assumption of 'Dictatorship' of the Panth by Sardar Kharak Singh as anti-democrate and opposed to the principles of Gurmat, appreciation for the services of Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir as Jathedar of the Akal Takht, appointment of Baba Wasakha Singh as Jathedar of the Akal Takht, condolence over the martyrdom of Sardar Sewa Singh Thikriwala, appeal for appointment of an enquiry Committee by the Government to investigate the causes of his death, welcome to Master Tara Singh on his return from a voluntary exile, appreciation of the Lahore Gurdwara Committee and Executive Committee of the SGPC for their role in the Gurdwara Shahidganj agitation, and approval of the name 'Teja Singh Hall' recommended by the Executive Committee for the new office of the SGPC. On 13 June, Sardar Partap Singh was elected Vice-President when Master Tara Singh was elected President of the SGPC.³ Sardar Swaran Singh's election in 1946 could be partly due to the political connections of his father, but he himself had come to acquire the reputation of a brilliant lawyer interested in national as well as Sikh causes. Significantly, his leadership was well acknowledged by Giani Kartar Singh who had watched him grow. Sardar Swaran Singh recalled the situation in some detail. He writes:

2. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

3. Shamsher Singh Ashok (ed.), *Shrimoni Gurdwara Parbandhak Kameti da Panjah Sala Itihas*, Amritsar: S.G.P.C., 2013 (rpt.), pp. 95, 123-4, 132-84.

The assembly elections were fought on Panthic ticket, even though here and there the Akalis agreed to enter into an understanding with Congress. When the 1946 elections were over, a Unionist-Congress-Akali Coalition government was installed in the then united Punjab and the country was at that time at threshold of freedom. The Cabinet Mission came to India and, as a sequel to the Cabinet Mission's arrival in India, an interim government was established at the centre and Sardar Baldev Singh joined as a member of the government. At that time Sardar Baldev Singh was a member of Unionist-Congress Akali Government in his capacity as the leader of the Panthic Legislative party. Since he had joined the Central government, a new leader of the Panthic Punjab Assembly party had to be elected. Giani Kartar Singh was a hot favourite for the said post, but he very graciously in a selfless way did not press his case and I was chosen to represent the Sikhs in the Khizar Hyat Cabinet. Even though the arbitrator appointed by Akali Party, Sardar Jaswant Singh Duggal gave his verdict in favour of Giani Kartar Singh but he wanted to devote himself to the organizational matters, and he got me elected to the august position. Thus I joined as a minister. This was a unique example of self sacrifice on the part of Gianiji to whom Panth was always above politics. I was very reluctant to accept the proposal because of my lucrative legal practice and suggested that Gianiji should accept the verdict of the arbitrator but on Gianiji's insistence I accepted ministership at that time. Gianiji's self-sacrifice left a lasting impression on my mind. This proved beyond a shadow of doubt that in thought and deed Gianiji exercised his mind independently and in an unbiased selfless way in the interest of the Sikhs.⁴

II

The general elections of 1945-46 were fought by the Muslim League on the issue of Pakistan. The League won the largest number of seats but failed to get a majority. Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana formed a coalition ministry of the Unionists, the Congress and the Panthic Party. The Cabinet Mission came in March and held talks with the leaders of all the political parties, including the Akalis. The Mission issued a statement on 16 May 1946 with regard to the formation of a Constituent Assembly. On 21 May Giani Kartar Singh and Sardar Swaran Singh called on the Punjab Home Secretary, A.A. Macdonald, to emphasize that the Sikhs were badly let down; they had expected some definite concessions. They were unhappy about the allotment of only four seats for the Sikhs in the Constituent Assembly. They added that the Panthic Party and the Congress, together, would take all possible action to assert their rights. Macdonald suggested that the Sikhs were in an excellent position to bargain with the Muslim League.

4. Swaran Singh, 'Remembering Giani Kartar Singh', pp. 91-2.

But this line of argument did not impress Giani Kartar Singh and Sardar Swaran Singh. They were aware of the implications of the statement of 16 May for any settlement between the Sikh leaders and the Muslim League. They could have made satisfactory terms with Jinnah before the statement but not now. There was no hope whatever of Jinnah or the Muslim League being ready to do a reasonable deal. At this time, Giani Kartar Singh was seen as second to Master Tara Singh as an Akali leader. However, Sardar Swaran Singh was important in the Punjab Legislative Assembly. The Punjab Governor looked upon him as the Panthic Party's choice to succeed Sardar Baldev Singh as a Minister, or even to fill a second Sikh Ministership.⁵

The most important political event of the second half of May 1946, for the Punjab Governor, was the outburst of the Sikhs against the Cabinet Mission proposals.⁶ During the first half of June, the most important event was the Sikh Conference held at Amritsar on 9-10 June. It was resolved at the Conference to form a Council of Action with Niranjan Singh Gill of the Indian National Army as President and 'Dictator'.⁷ Sardar Baldev Singh told the Punjab Governor that the Sikh leaders were inclined not to boycott the Constituent Assembly and they were prepared to join the Interim Government; direct action was to be the last resort.⁸ Actually, however, the Conference resolved to boycott the Constituent Assembly and not to join the Interim Government.⁹ Sardar Baldev Singh was persuaded in fact to decline the Governor-General's invitation to join the Interim Government which had been recommended by the Cabinet Mission on 16 June 1946.¹⁰ The Punjab Governor had formed a good opinion about Sardar Baldev Singh as a Sikh with an all-India outlook; he was a good administrator and next only to the Premier as a strong member of the Coalition; and he was closer to the Congress High Command than the other Sikh leaders.¹¹ Indeed, there was general opinion in the Government and Congress circles that he was the most suitable Sikh member in the Interim Government. However, the Sikh attitude at the end of August 1946 was still uncertain. They were still opposed to both the Muslim League and the Congress.¹² Before mid-September, however, the situation changed. Sardar Baldev Singh was allowed by the Panthic Board to take office at the Centre. Niranjan Singh Gill resigned from the office of President of the Panthic Board, probably under the threat that if he did not resign he would be removed. He had tried to intrigue with the Congress to have him in the Interim Government rather than Sardar Baldev Singh. For the selection of Sardar Baldev Singh's successor

5. Lionel Carter (ed.), *Punjab Politics: 1 January 1944-3 March 1947*, Manohar, New Delhi: 2006, pp. 202-3.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 210.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 217.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 222-3.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 224-5.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 226-7.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 245.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 274.

as Leader and Minister in the Punjab, the arbitrator appointed after the committee constituted by the Akalis had failed to agree, gave his award in favour of Giani Kartar Singh. Before the award was announced, Sardar Baldev Singh met Giani Kartar Singh and persuaded him not to take office because the party would be split with disastrous consequences for the Panth. Giani Kartar Singh withdrew in favour of Sardar Swaran Singh who was acceptable to Khizar Hayat Khan, the Premier, as much as to the Governor.¹³

III

Sardar Swaran Singh proved to be an efficient Minister. He exercised a moderating influence in almost all crises. In February 1947, when the Punjab Governor was worried about Master Tara Singh's aggressive attitude, he told Sardar Swaran Singh as well as the Premier that the Ministry would not be able to function if Master Tara Singh resorted to direct action. The Muslim League was already agitating against the Ministry.¹⁴ Indeed, during the second half of February, the Muslim League agitation was the main concern of the Governor.¹⁵ Sardar Swaran Singh was expected to influence Master Tara Singh. In any-case, his assessment of the Sikh position was regarded by the Governor as more reliable than that of Giani Kartar Singh. In Sardar Swaran Singh's view, the announcement of 20 February, 1947 by the British Government in London had destroyed the foundation of everything. There was no possibility of any effective sanctions to a settlement. The Sikhs had been deeply affected by the ambition of the Muslims to seize the Punjab for themselves. Their agitation had shown Pakistan in all its nakedness. The Sikhs would not allow the Muslims to impose their will. A civil war was bound to lead to widespread misery, but Sardar Swaran Singh could not imagine how in the absence of some effective sanction the Sikhs would be partners with the Muslims on any terms. In Sardar Swaran Singh's well considered view, partition of the Punjab had its own disadvantages but there appeared to be no other remedy. The Governor assured Sardar Swaran Singh that he was always ready to see Master Tara Singh and Giani Kartar Singh to discuss the Sikh position, and suggested that the Sikh leaders should not commit themselves to partition.¹⁶

The crisis came sooner than later. Khizar Hayat Khan resigned from Premiership on 3 March 1947. Sardar Swaran Singh saw the Governor in the forenoon. The Governor's concern was to explore the possibility of cooperation with the Muslim League in forming a coalition. Sardar Swaran Singh told him that the Sikhs would not be satisfied with immediate concessions and assurances; they must have a clear account of the Muslim League's plan for the future of the Punjab and of the position of the Sikhs within that plan. The Sikhs had no intention of being treated as serfs under Muslim masters, and felt they were strong enough

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 281-2.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 350-1.

15. Kirpal Singh (ed.), *Select Documents on Partition of Punjab-1947*, National Book Shop, Delhi, 2006 (rev. ed.), pp. 18, 365.

16. Carter, *Punjab Politics* (2006), pp. 369-70.

to defend themselves. Sardar Swaran Singh also hinted that if Mamdot succeeded in forming a Muslim Ministry with support from the Scheduled Castes and other such elements, it would be the duty of the Governor to go immediately into Section 93 of the Act of 1935, which would mean the Governor's rule.¹⁷

The Punjab Governor observed on 4 March that the Congress and the Sikhs were determined to resist Muslim rule.¹⁸ Rioting started in Lahore. Sardar Swaran Singh was in favour of a committee for peace, and the Governor passed on this suggestion to Mamdot. On the evening of 7 March, a Peace Committee was formed, with Master Tara Singh and Sardar Swaran Singh as its members.¹⁹ The Governor was not in favour of partitioning the Punjab and he hoped that it could be kept in one piece, with goodwill and common sense, and governed by a Ministry acceptable to all Punjabis.²⁰ Sardar Swaran Singh and Giani Kartar Singh met the Governor late in the evening on 7 March for some local business and the Governor asked them about the prospects of a settlement. They said that the Muslims had inflicted heavy casualties on the Sikhs and as long as their hostile attitude continued, the Sikhs would have nothing to do with the League.²¹ The Congress Working Committee resolved on 8 March that in view of the tragic events which had occurred in the Punjab, it was necessary to find out a way involving the least amount of compulsion; the way out was a division of the Punjab into two Provinces.²² The Sikh and Congress leaders made a joint statement that they were not willing to give the slightest support to the Muslim League in the formation of a Ministry because they were opposed to Pakistan in any shape or form.²³ On 10 March, Mamdot, Daultana, and Firoz Khan Noon told the Governor that their overtures had been rebuffed. They requested the Governor to mediate, and the Governor looked towards Sardar Swaran Singh for help.²⁴ The murder of Labh Singh, a former President of the SGPC, in the home town of Sardar Swaran Singh, excited Master Tara Singh intensely and he was talking of civil war.²⁵ The Sikhs were extremely perturbed.²⁶ Before the end of March, the Punjab Governor

17. Lionel Carter (ed.), *Punjab Politics: 3 March–31 May 1947*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2007, p. 52. Sardar Swaran Singh narrated the incident which clinched the resignation of Sir Khizar Hayat Khan at a party at Ibrahim Barq's residence. Barq's eight year old son was sitting in Khizar's lap and he remarked that his son was sitting with the Prime Minister. The boy blurted out, 'Oh you are Uncle Khizr, you are the one, all my friends say are coming in the way of the creation of Pakistan'. Sir Khizar Hayat said to Sardar Swaran Singh later that he could go on fighting with the Muslim League 'but if our children feel we are the villains of the piece, let us disappear and whatever happens, happen.' Talbot, Ian, *Khizr Tiwana, the Punjab Unionist Party and the Partition of India*, Curzon Press, Richmond, 1996, p. 160.

18. Carter, *Punjab Politics* (2007), p. 55.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 106 n34.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 70-1, 106 n35.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

came to the conclusion that no satisfactory solution, whether short-term or long-term, was possible without mutual consent or union and, failing a union, the only long-term solution was partition.²⁷ Nevertheless, he remained in touch with Sardar Swaran Singh, among others.²⁸ When Sardar Swaran Singh and Giani Kartar Singh met the Governor on 26 March, Sardar Swaran Singh did most of the talking.²⁹ He did most of the talking also on 31 March when the Governor interviewed Sardar Swaran Singh along with Gokul Chand Narang, Gopi Chand Bhargava, and Bhim Sen Sacher.³⁰ Sardar Swaran Singh was not only articulate but also cogent in the expression of his views on all important matters.

IV

Lord Mountbatten replaced Lord Wavell as the Governor-General of India before the end of March 1947. In April, the Punjab Governor gave him a general picture of Akali leadership. The Akali Party was divided into two wings. The more powerful wing was headed by Master Tara Singh who had the largest personal following among the Sikhs. The other important leader of this wing was Giani Kartar Singh. In the recent elections of the SGPC and the Shiromani Akali Dal, the followers of Giani Kartar Singh had secured an absolute majority and his group, therefore, was for the time being in control of the Sikh affairs. The smaller wing of the Akali Party was headed by Udham Singh Nagoke and Ishar Singh Majhail. They were aligned with the Congress. Udham Singh was hostile to Giani Kartar Singh. Outside the Akali Party there was a 'nationalist' group, with Partap Singh Kairon and Surjit Singh Majithia as the most prominent members. There was a strong Jat *versus* non-Jat feeling among the Sikhs. However, Sardar Baldev Singh and Sardar Swaran Singh were not active in the affairs of the SGPC and the Shiromani Akali Dal, though Jats with a certain degree of influence within the Sikh community. They were acknowledged as the most suitable for high offices in parliamentary and ministerial affairs.³¹

Sardar Swaran Singh did not conceal his Sikh sympathies. As President of a committee formed for helping the Sikhs displaced from the western districts of the Punjab, he collected funds from different parts of the country.³² However, he seldom talked of violence and never of retaliation. In this respect he presented a contrast to Master Tara Singh and Giani Kartar Singh. The Governor asked Sardar Swaran Singh to do his best to stop the more extreme forms of propaganda through pamphlets or newspapers. Such a propaganda would be used, he thought against the Sikhs by the Muslims.³³ This propaganda dwelt on the happenings in some of the Rawalpindi villages familiar to Master Tara Singh in which Sikh men,

27. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 257.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 263.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-12.

32. *The Tribune*, 17 April 1947.

33. Carter, *Punjab Politics* (2007), p. 118.

women and children were burnt alive or molested, after setting the villages on fire.³⁴

On 21 April, Sardar Swaran Singh and Lala Bhim Sen Sachar issued a statement summarizing various arguments against the possibility of reconciliation between Muslims and non-Muslims in the Punjab. The statement went on to demand that the Governor-General should immediately install two or three regional administrations with separate Ministers, under one Governor, for the two or three zones of the existing Province of the Punjab. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had discussed the possibility of a regional system with the Governor in March and it was agreed that its main use might be to serve as a bridge between Section 93 and some entirely new system of government. Thus, if partition was decided upon, the parties might agree to a coalition Ministry organized by convention on regional lines.³⁵ Sardar Swaran Singh and Bhim Sen Sachar made it clear that they were not prepared in the existing circumstances to cooperate with the Muslim League for forming 'a single Ministry for the whole of the Punjab'.³⁶

The Punjab Governor observed at the end of April 1947 that the Sikhs had committed themselves to partition of the Punjab so deeply that it would be difficult, if not impossible, for them to take a different line. But, in view of the attitude adopted by the Muslims, an agreed partition appeared to be virtually impossible.³⁷ The Governor began to discuss security arrangements with the Army Commander for the announcement of partition.³⁸ Sardar Swaran Singh was 'now prominent in Sikh politics'. The Governor had an interview with Sardar Swaran Singh, Sardar Harnam Singh and Lala Bhim Sen Sachar on 2 May. A Hindu and Sikh 'Convention' at Delhi had demanded partition of the Punjab with the Chenab as the western boundary between the two states. Without any reference to this 'convention' the three Sikh leaders told him that the statement of 16 May 1946 was a dead letter, that Pakistan was coming, and that partition of the Punjab was, therefore, inevitable. Sardar Swaran Singh subscribed to the idea that Muslims and non-Muslims should in the first place be allotted areas corresponding to their respective population strengths and that then there should be an exchange of population. The Governor expressed the view that transfers of population on a grand scale were not practicable. He also emphasized that partition of the Punjab was not in the interest of any party. Sardar Swaran Singh said that, since Jinnah insisted on a sovereign Pakistan State, the Sikhs had no alternative but to demand a homeland of their own and they could get this only by partition. 'For Sikhs it was a matter of life and death'.³⁹ The Punjab Governor wrote to the Governor-General that the Sikhs would refuse to accept the boundary short of the Ravi, and they would insist on the inclusion of a considerable colony area in the non-Muslim state.⁴⁰

34. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 149-50; Kirpal Singh, *Select Documents*, pp. 49-50.

36. Carter, *Punjab Politics* (2007), p. 158 n 41.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 154; Kirpal Singh, *Select Documents*, pp. 62-6.

38. Carter, *Punjab Politics* (2007), p. 159.

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 163-6.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 161-2.

During the second half of May, serious communal violence continued in Lahore and Amritsar, and all districts reported acute uneasiness. On 12 May 1947, Master Tara Singh ended a statement with the words: 'I realize my grave responsibility in the present hour and urged by sheer sense of duty to my country and community, I am making my last appeal to the Government and the Muslim League to save the situation which has grown explosive in the highest degree'.⁴¹ At the end of May, Sardar Swaran Singh gave a letter from Master Tara Singh to the Governor who thought it was 'an astonishing letter' because Master Tara Singh believed that there was a conspiracy on the part of Muslim police officers to murder him. He returned the letter and asked Sardar Swaran Singh to tell Master Tara Singh that it was 'rubbish'.⁴² It is not clear why Jenkins thought that there was not even the remotest possibility of such a plan. Apparently, Sardar Swaran Singh did not rule out such a possibility.

V

The 'Mountbatten Plan' was announced on 3 June 1947. Among other things, it provided for partition of the Punjab, and the transfer of power by 15 August 1947. Everything was to be completed in about ten weeks. The Punjab Governor Jenkins saw Sardar Swaran Singh on 6 June, and found him 'very friendly, as he always is'. He argued nevertheless that it would be impossible to apportion assets and liabilities, or to distribute services, until the boundary between the two new provinces was accurately known. The Governor suspected that the Sikhs would like to have the report of the Boundary Commission before anything else. The Shiromani Akali Dal was to meet on 9 June. It was certain that the Akalis would accept the principle of partition.⁴³ The administrative machine was rapidly falling to pieces.⁴⁴ Pandit Nehru expressed his horror and disgust at the riots in the Punjab. The attacks appeared to be planned.⁴⁵

On 16 June, the Punjab Governor held a meeting with Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot, Lala Bhim Sen Sachar, and Sardar Swaran Singh to work out the preliminaries for partition. Sardar Swaran Singh suggested that the formation of a full Partition Committee should be postponed until after the decision on partition. Meanwhile a Committee of the three Party leaders might be set up to supervise the establishment of the machinery to gain some knowledge of the problems likely to be faced. On the assumption that the Partition Committee will not be set up until after 23 June, the formation of an Interim Committee of the kind suggested by Sardar Swaran was seen as necessary.⁴⁶ The Governor was convinced that there were individuals below the top rung in the Party organizations

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 182-4.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 221-4.

43. Lionel Carter (ed.), *Punjab Politics: 1 June 1947-14 August 1947*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2007, pp. 58-60.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 76, 101.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 81; Kirpal Singh, *Select Documents*, pp. 109-13.

46. Carter, *ibid.*, pp. 83-4; Kirpal Singh, *Select Documents*, pp. 115-16.

who disbursed money and directed the outrages. Sardar Swaran Singh hinted pretty broadly on 23 June that Partition could not go very far until the boundary had been determined.⁴⁷

At a meeting held for peace by the people of Lahore, on 26 June, Sardar Swaran Singh was one of the leaders who addressed them. He emphasized that political issues should be resolved peacefully.⁴⁸ At the end of June the Sikhs were still unhappy, and they were threatening direct action if they did not like the Boundary Commission's report. Sardar Swaran Singh kept on bringing up the boundary problem and saying that the partition proceedings could not go far until the boundary was settled. The Governor thought that the Sikhs might try to force the authorities to go slow.⁴⁹ On 2 July, Mamdot resigned from the Security Committee, formed only a few days earlier, over the search conducted by the police in the Misri Shah suburb of Lahore, alleging that the administration under the Governor was partial and oppressive. Sardar Swaran Singh issued a statement that it would be unfair to the Sikhs to transfer power before the question of boundary was settled, and they would resist such a move.⁵⁰

The Punjab Partition Committee had begun to meet from 1 July onwards. During its meeting on 4 July, Sardar Swaran Singh asked the Governor to see him privately. He then raised two points. First, that partition proceedings could not go very far until the boundary was finally settled, and the Panthic Party would certainly not agree to the installation of two new Governments on the basis of 'notional' boundary. Second, that the time allowed for the partition proceedings was much too short. It was impossible in his opinion to get work done in an orderly way by 15 August 1947.⁵¹ Sardar Swaran Singh's view was reinforced by a Sikh member of the Partition Committee who proposed that effective proceedings should be stayed until orders had been passed on the report of the Boundary Commission, and who indicated that the Government of the Eastern Punjab should not leave Lahore until the fate of Lahore had been decided. The Governor was keen that the British troops should be relieved before the end of July.⁵² Most of the British civilians too were anxious to leave India safely.

On the issue of the distribution of the members of the various civil services between the two new provinces, Sardar Swaran Singh observed on 13 July that, since the 'notional' boundary was not final, special arrangements would have to be made for the administration of districts likely to be affected by the Boundary Commission's award; also, it would be necessary for both the Governments and their offices to remain in Lahore until the award was made.⁵³ Whereas the Governor

47. Carter, *ibid.*, pp. 103-4; Kirpal Singh, *ibid.*, pp. 119-20.

48. *The Dawn*, 27 June 1947.

49. Carter, *Punjab Politics: 1 June 1947-14 August 1947*, p. 115.

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-8.

51. *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 7 July 1947.

52. Carter, *Punjab Politics: 1 June 1947-14 August 1947*, pp. 142-3.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

appeared to assume that only small changes in the 'notional' boundary could be expected, the Sikh leaders were hoping that a considerable area on the basis of factors other than population would come to the Eastern Punjab. The boundary problem was uppermost in the minds of everybody.⁵⁴

As reported in the *Civil and Military Gazette* of 19 July 1947, the Panthic Assembly Party gave anxious consideration to the question of Sikh participation in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and, in view of the massacres of March 1947, it recommended to the Panth to call upon the Sikh representatives in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly not to participate in the deliberations of the Assembly. The Panthic Assembly Party expected that for demarcation of the boundary line the Punjab Boundary Commission would take into account the factors mentioned in the Parliamentary Debate in which Arthur Henderson, Under Secretary of State for India, R.A. Butler, leading member of the opposition, and Sir Stafford Cripps had participated in connection with the India Independence Bill in the House of Commons. The Panthic Assembly Party declared that no demarcation of the boundary would satisfy the Sikhs unless it was so drawn that historical Gurdwaras and the landed interests of the Sikhs were included in the Eastern Punjab. The pockets of Sikh population left in the Western Punjab should be transferred to the Eastern Punjab.⁵⁵

On 18 July 1947 Sardar Swaran Singh signed the Memorandum prepared for submission to the Punjab Boundary Commission, followed by 31 other Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly. The senior leaders of the Sikhs met at Lahore on 20 July and discussed the manner in which the issue of boundary should be presented before the Punjab Boundary Commission. Master Tara Singh and Sardar Swaran Singh participated in the discussion. It was decided that the river Chenab should be the boundary in view of the historical, cultural and religious factors.⁵⁶ In all, 9 memoranda were presented to the Boundary Commission by the Sikhs. The Memorandum of the Akali Dal and the other Sikh parties consisted of 75 pages. Sardar Swaran Singh had worked hard to present this Memorandum. It was quite comprehensive in its scope.⁵⁷

On 20 July 1947 Sardar Swaran Singh participated in a meeting at Lahore in which the Governor-General, the Punjab Governor, Private Secretary to the Governor-General, and the other three members of the Punjab Partition Committee were present. The Governor-General emphasized that any moves of the Government which took place before the decision of the Boundary Commission was published would have no influence on the members of the Commission. It was agreed that the Punjab Secretariat would be split into two on 5 August, and on 10 August both the new secretariats would close down and reopen on 14 August: that of West Punjab in Lahore, and that of East Punjab in Simla if Lahore

54. *Ibid.*, p. 160.

55. *The Hindustan Times*, 21 July 1947.

56. *The Pakistan Times*, 21 July 1947; Kirpal Singh, *Select Documents*, pp. 226-63.

57. Kirpal Singh, 268-70; 273-4.

was included in West Punjab. In the districts of Lahore, Amritsar and Gurdaspur, British Deputy Commissioners and Superintendents of Police would hand over charge to the incumbents nominated by the two governments on 15 August or earlier. The Boundary Commission would give its award by 12 August. Sardar Swaran Singh said that the Sikhs would accept the award and abide by it. The Governor-General was pleased to hear this.⁵⁸

The Punjab Governor informed Sardar Swaran Singh that the Sikh Political Conference proposed to be held at Nankana Sahib on 27 July was illegal, because all public meetings were banned in Sheikhupura district, and it would have to be dealt with as unlawful meeting.⁵⁹ Sardar Swaran Singh was expected to inform Giani Kartar and, if possible, to dissuade him from holding the conference. Eventually, it did not prove to be a success. Sardar Swaran Singh saw Jenkins on 29 July after the meeting of the Partition Committee and said that, in view of Giani Kartar Singh's statement that the Sikhs would not accept the Boundary Commission's award unless they considered it to be just. Sardar Swaran Singh did not know what to do, for he could not oppose Giani Kartar Singh who was President of the Shiromani Akali Dal. The Governor advised Sardar Swaran Singh to contact Sardar Baldev Singh, presumably to put pressure on Giani Kartar Singh to make a positive statement.⁶⁰

Sardar Swaran Singh was present in the meeting at which Mountbatten formed the Punjab Boundary Commission to take up its duties on 1 August 1947.⁶¹ Three days later, the Punjab Governor wrote his response to the various kinds of criticism of his administration, outlining the developments after the general elections of 1945-46 before meeting the detailed criticism, and coming to the conclusion that 'on the whole we have done our best in an intolerably difficult situation'.⁶²

The Sikh *hartal* on 5 August was peaceful.⁶³ On 9 August, the Governor wrote to the Governor-General that reports about the subversive activities of Master Tara Singh were substantially true, but his plans would come to nothing.⁶⁴ On 13 August, he reported that raids and murders were now so frequent that it was difficult to keep track of them all.⁶⁵ Apart from the motive of revenge, the Sikhs wished to assert themselves on the boundary question.⁶⁶ On 14 August at 9.10 p.m. the Governor sent a telegram to the Governor-General and the Secretary of State for India: 'Re-arrangement of personnel as preliminary to partition completed. Situation will now be for the new Governments to deal with'.⁶⁷

58. *The Pakistan Times*, 10 August, 1947.

59. Carter, *Punjab Politics: 1 June 1947-14 August 1947*, p. 169.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

61. *The Tribune*, 10 August 1947.

62. Carter, *Punjab Politics: 1 June 1947-14 August 1947*, pp. 194-211.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 216.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 221.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 231.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 234; *The Tribune*, 15 August 1947.

Two days earlier, Major Short had written to Lord Ismay that Giani Kartar Singh had 'a genuine affection and respect' for Swaran Singh, 'the answer to our prayers for an oncoming really good leader'.⁶⁸ Sardar Swaran Singh became the first Home Minister of the Punjab in free India.

68. Kirpal Singh, *Select Documents*, p. 468.

PARTITION AND ITS IMPACT ON KASHMIR'S FOREIGN TRADE

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The Dogra period (1846-1947) is one of the most significant and formative periods of the Kashmir history. During this period remarkable changes took place in almost every aspect of Kashmiri life. These changes were directly the outcome of the presence of Europeans in Kashmir resulted in the import of European technology and culture which got transmitted to Kashmir during this period. Of the most important aspects of Kashmir history which underwent notable change, trade and commerce occupies a prominent place. Kashmir was linked with the outside world through a network of roads. *Bullock carts, tongas and ekkas* were used for the transportation of goods. Besides, Jehlum valley cart road connecting Kashmir with the Punjab, two more roads were constructed linking Kashmir with Ladakh and Jammu which greatly facilitated Kashmir trade with Central Asia and other parts of the sub-continent.

The state of Jammu and Kashmir is situated at a place on the globe where the borders of half a dozen countries meet.¹ From the immemorial times, the state people had established trade relations with all their neighbouring countries and were deriving great benefit from these. Before any roads for wheeled traffic were constructed, canals and rivers were also used for carrying merchandise from one place to another. It was natural that the people of Kashmir should have greater business intercourse with the country, which was connected with the state through these waterways.² The main big rivers of Jammu and Kashmir were Sind,³ Vitasta,⁴

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1. British India, Russia, Afghanistan and Central Asian states. Bazaz, Prem Nath, *The History of struggle for freedom of Kashmir (Cultural and Political from Earliest time to Present day)*, Gulshan Publishers, Srinagar, 2003, p. 490.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Of the two streams the smaller one rose on the slopes of Zojila and the other was formed by the drainage of lofty mountains and glaciers which formed the northern boundary of the Dachinpora district. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladak*, compiled under the quarter master general in India, the intelligence branch, Calcutta, 1890, p. 752.

4. The natives of the country called it the 'Behut' or 'Vehut'; an older name still used by those of them who follow Sanskrit literature, is Vitasta or Vidasta. Which the Greeks slightly altered to Hydaspes. Cunningham, a, *Ladak, Physical, Statistical and Historical*, Sagar Publications, New Delhi, 1977, p. 111.

Chenab and Ravi. The source of these rivers was the big mountain ranges of Himalayas lying to the North and East of Kashmir and all of them flow into the West Punjab.

Kashmir did not have any modern highways till 1890.⁵ The year 1890-91, was a landmark in the history of Kashmir as it was in this year that the construction of Jhelum Valley Cart Road was started.⁶ It was the opening of the Jhelum valley road which helped to diminish the isolation of the city from outside influences,⁷ journeys to Srinagar by the English officers, travelers and missionaries became faster and more frequent.⁸ Jhelum valley road being the shortest line of communication between the valley, Hazara⁹ and the Indus, the route through the Jhelum valley below Baramulla was used from ancient times. Heun Tsang and Ou-Kong coming from Gandhara¹⁰ and Hazara followed this route on their way to Kashmir, and it was well known to Alberuni.

The Jhelum valley road below Baramulla is confined between two ranges of mountains—the one to the south being a branch of the Pir-panjal and the other to the north of *Kajinag*. These two ranges accompany the course of the river with gradually lessening height for about 80 miles to a point near Muzaffarabad where the Jhelum makes its sudden bend to the south. The valley is throughout narrow and the route leading along it must have always been troublesome and risky in olden times. It is perhaps due to this reason that we hear comparatively little about it in the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana. The military and commercial importance of this route is lesser than that of Pir-panjal and *Tosamaidan* routes. It is only in modern times that this western route has attained real prominence. This originated in the time of the Afghan rule over Kashmir, when the route along the Vitasta to Muzaffarabad and hence through Hazara afforded the shortest and least exposed line of communication between Kashmir and Peshawar¹¹. Subsequently, after the annexation of the Punjab, the establishment of the hill station of the Muree naturally drew traffic in this direction. The construction of the *Tonga* road from Muree to Baramulla finally assured to this route its present supremacy.

By the end of the 19th century, Kashmir was hit by a severe famine in 1877-79, which made it necessary to have a good road which could connect the valley with the Punjab, from where the grains for relief could be imported for the people

5. Ahmad, Praveez, *Economy and Society of Kashmir, A study in change and continuity (1885-1925)*, Oriental Publishing House, Srinagar, 2007, p. 186.

6. The Banihal Cart Road was formally opened to traffic in 1923. It also attracted a great deal of trade traffic between the Punjab and Srinagar. *Administrative Report, 1892-93*, p. 88 or (*Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir government 1923-24*), p.2.

7. Khan, Mohammad Ishaq, *History of Srinagar*, Cosmos Publications, 1999, (first published by Aamir Publications, Srinagar in 1978), p. 35.

8. *Census, 1941*, p. 27.

9. The ancient name of Hazara was Urusha.

10. Ghandhara was the old name of Kabul valley.

11. Baron Hugel quite correctly notices a Kashmir tradition that the Baramulla route was properly opened up only about eighty years before his own visit (1835), on the arrival of the *Pathans*. Stein, M.A., *Kalhana's Rajatarangini*, Gulshan Books, 2007, p. 402.

of the snow-capped Valley. Another reason which made the construction of road important was at this time, the British government of India was greatly alarmed by the Russian advance in Central Asia. The plan took a practical shape, when the construction of the said road was undertaken in 1881, for a cart road from Baramula to Kohala by the state government. Its length was about 97 miles of which only 25 miles were nearly completed in 1885. In other words, the work was being executed at the average rate of about 6 miles a year. At this rate, about 11 more years were needed to construct the whole road. The chief reason for such a slow progress was stated to be the lack of funds with the state government.¹²

Consequently, in 1888, Col. Parry Nisbet was sent to Kashmir as British Resident and he assisted the state in accomplishing the desired end. It was pushed forward with greater zeal, when the contract was made over to a British firm of contractors, Spedding Mitchel and Co; who brought the work to a completion in a record time. The road was opened for wheeled traffic in 1890, when Maharaja Pratap Singh was driven through from Baramula to Kohala on the borders of his state. But it was not yet completed. The road was further extended from Baramula to Srinagar in 1893, and was completed at the end of 1895. It touched the city of Srinagar at *Amira Kadal*. Its length from Srinagar to Kohala was 132 miles. Thereafter, it led to Rawalpindi while crossing over the *Muree Hills*. The travel became very comfortable and easier for passengers in *Tongas*, *Ekkas* and then by the Motorcars.¹³ The distance of months was covered in a day to six days i.e. one day by motorcar, two days by *Tongas* and six days by *Ekkas*. From Srinagar to Rawalpindi, its distance was 196 miles.¹⁴ The road was spoken of as a masterpiece of mountain engineering and was recognized by some as "the most beautiful Motorable road in the whole world".¹⁵ The significance of this road was highlighted by Ernest F. Neve in these words :

According to him the chief exports are fruits, consisting largely of apples, pears, and walnuts. Of this over, 100,000 maunds, or about 3500 tons are exported annually. Rice and maize vary between one thousand and three thousand tons, according to the existence of scarcity in the North of India. Linseed, ghee, potatoes, hides wool, woollen cloth are all exported in large quantities. The value of the silk sent out of Kashmir annually amounted alone to over 100,000 sterling and the timber which is floated down the river to the Punjab represents fifty to eighty thousand pounds sterling a year.¹⁶

The state people as well as outsiders could enter Kashmir or leave it by

12. Kapur, M.L., *Social and Economic History of Jammu and Kashmir (1885-1925)*, Anmol Publications, Jammu, 1992, p. 313.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 314-315.

14. Ahmad Parvez, *op.cit.*, p. 226.

15. Kapur, M.L., *op.cit.*, p. 315.

16. Neve, Ernest, *Beyond the Pirpanjal (Life among the mountain and valley of Kashmir)*, Gulshan Publishers, Srinagar, 2003, p. 44.

anyone of the three roads they liked, though usually one preferred to travel by the Jehlum valley road because it was more comfortable and less risky.¹⁷ Important consequences of the improved communications were the growth of the Tourist industry¹⁸ and the external trade of Kashmir with rest of the world, particularly with the British India got fillip. Additional employment was also generated in bakeries, laundries, entertainment places, retailing trade, hotels, restaurants, cooks, bearers and other servants required to man these places etc. Considerable additional demand for food stuffs, vegetables, fruits, eggs, meat and milk was created which was met from local products. The visitors also bought local products which supported a large number of cottage and small scale industries engaged in making shawls, carpets, embroidery work, *gabba*, *lois*, woodcarving, jewelry, and papier machie articles. Thus, the impact on tourism on Kashmir in general and Srinagar in particular was fairly widespread,¹⁹ and the employment created directly or indirectly through it was considerable. The trade between Kashmir and Punjab was carried on by the Jehlum valley and Ghari Habibullah roads.²⁰ It was two sided trade and was carried on by carts and *ekkas*.²¹ The chief articles of import were raw and manufactured cotton, liquors provisions, tea, salt, sugar, grains, drugs, medicines, apparel pulse, snuff, tobacco, leather, gunny bags, wool and woolens and European metals, oils, spices and manufactured silk.²²

The road also brought the threat of competition. Srinagar's artisans were now faced with great outside competition. But while some indigenous handicrafts of Srinagar like the manufacture of high quality paper declined because of competition from the mills of India, other handicrafts like the making of carpets, *numdas*, *gabbas*, wood-carving etc. revived as a result of the development of road communication.²³ The following table will show the quantity and value of imports from Punjab to Kashmir through the Jehlum valley Cart Road for the years given below²⁴ :-

Year	Quantity in Maunds	Value in Rupees
1898-99	268069	3580083
1899-1900	264635	4042847
1900-01	202228	4068443
1901-02	380041	5743610
1902-03	320901	4540154
1903-04	442685	4644680
1904-05	532891	5152532

(Contd...)

17. Khan Mohammad Ishaq, *op.cit.*, p. 35.

18. Ibid.

19. See J & K (Government Record), File No. 139 of 1902.

20. *Annual Trade Report of J & K state, 1900-01*, pp. 4-5; *1911-12*, p.2 and *1920-21*, p.4.

21. *Annual Trade Report of J & K state, 1900-01*, p. 4.

22. *Annual Trade Report of J & K state, 1904-05*, p. 15.

23. *Census, 1941, I*, p. 24.

24. This table is prepared by author after consulting the Administrative Reports of the respective years from 1898-1926.

1905-06	345789	6012242
1906-07	517475	6334261
1907-08	456790	7730650
1908-09	374488	7730650
1909-10	452009	7897954
1910-11	398164	7192118
1911-12	475008	7552885
1912-13	452118	8543431
1913-14	482926	8963123
1914-15	507190	9176890
1915-16	435157	9710280
1916-17	445538	7145062
1917-18	533719	10216420
1918-19	491091	112588663
1919-20	584253	13243969
1920-21	474520	14522529
1921-22	581530	16686989
1922-23	551264	19780591
1923-24	584251	16741324
1924-25	—	14084451
1925-26	—	15875719
1926-27	—	15335877

Source :- *Annual Trade Reports of J&K State from 1898-1927.*

Exports from Kashmir to Punjab²⁵ and then to other parts of the world

Year	Quantity in Maunds	Value in Rupees
1898-99	175575	21,10869
1899-1900	208585	19,22673
1900-01	398450	2,49903
1901-02	371177	27,29092
1902-03	392362	46,56241
1903-04	278422	52,50194
1904-05	204141	34,92212
1905-06	698372	43,84392
1906-07	883141	53,88406
1907-08	977305	56,68467
1908-09	968369	55,28040
1909-10	1000602	59,41349
1910-11	970517	60,39130
1911-12	967641	65,97125
1912-13	1848842	82,05936
1913-14	1576580	6,65712 (Contd...)

25. The figures have been taken from all Jammu and Kashmir Administrative and Trade Reports, which are available in Jammu and Kashmir Archives, Jammu and Srinagar.

1914-15	1148491	82,05935
1915-16	1058575	63,66802
1916-17	1660081	99,82682
1917-18	1347406	11,352283
1918-19	1311808	11,886666
1919-20	1182819	89,07625
1920-21	1251513	10,314228
1921-22	1214723	92,66302
1922-23	1646331	12,491140
1923-24	1485479	11,749930
1924-25	1530115	13,512653
1925-26	1807883	13,430290
1926-27	1401 (woollen)	28,48137 includes only silk and woollen value
1927-28	4852 (woollen)	41,35857 includes only silk and woollen value
1928-29	9108 (woollen)	35,69483 includes only silk and woollen value
1929-30	8746 (woollen)	33,50541 includes only silk and woollen value
1930-31	5301 (woollen)	17,33716 includes only silk, woollen and carpet value
1931-32	7428 (woollen)	55,0399 includes only silk, woollen and carpet value
1932-33	8858 (woollen)	20,38631 includes only silk, woollen and carpet value
1933-34	3294 (woollen)	12,25170 includes only silk, woollen and carpet value
1934-35	11535 (woollen)	11,395071 includes only woollen and carpet value
1935-36	4689 (woollen)	16,06035 includes only woollen and carpet value
1936-37	5021 (woollen)	59,5683 woollen value
1937-38	5948 (woollen)	72,1753 woollen value
1938-39	35550	5,665 woollen value
1939-40	52062	11,33138 includes only silk value
1940-41	97149	26,5080 includes only papier mache value
1941-42	—	11,00000 includes only <i>gabbas</i> and <i>numdas</i> value
1942-43	400000 (sq.ft)	13,84950 includes only silk and carpets value

(Contd...)

1943-44	—	33,970 includes only silk value
1944-45	—	38,339415 includes only silk value

Source :- *Annual Trade Reports of J&K State from 1898-1945.*

Among the reasons for the general rise in trade from 1925 onwards, may chiefly be mentioned the scarcity of certain articles in the Punjab and richness of the local crops. Rising prices in the Punjab, on account of the World War I, encouraged the traders to export certain articles in larger quantities namely drugs and medicines, hides and skins, fruits, raw silk and cocoons, timber, wool and woollens and ghee, and then from Punjab these were sent to the other parts of the world.

Till 1947, there were three highways linking the state with the outside world. Besides, Jehlum valley road from Srinagar to Kohala via Baramula and Domel; Banihal road from Srinagar to Sialkot via Banihal and Jammu; and Abbotabad road, from Domel to Abbotabad via Ramkot were linking valley with the outside world. There was also a rail link from Jammu to Sialkot forming part of the pre-partition North-West railways.²⁶

Besides these highways, there were several bridle paths and footpaths connecting different parts of the state²⁷ with neighbouring countries but such of them as could be maintained in good conditions were used in case of emergency or only by local people living on either side of the border.²⁸ It will be seen that like the big rivers all the highways connected the Jammu and Kashmir state with that part of the Punjab, which now forms part of Pakistan.²⁹ It was therefore quite natural that almost all export and import business of the country should be carried on with or through the trade centres of that province particularly Rawalpindi and Lahore.³⁰ To do so was easier, cheaper and mutually beneficial. The timber weighing millions of tons grown in the far flung forests of Jammu and Kashmir was carried by the Punjab almost free of any charge.³¹ Fruits and other products were speedily taken from the orchards of the valley to Rawalpindi and disposed off within twenty four hours. Of all the seaports in India Karachi, city of Pakistan was nearest to Kashmir. It was and could be cheaper to get foreign goods into the state through this port.³²

The trade and other business conducted through the three highways and four waterways were enormous.³³ It amounted to crores of rupees every year and all classes of people living in any region of the state benefitted by it because the highways and the waterways were not confined to any province; they were spread

26. Bazaz, Prem Nath, *op.cit.*, p. 491.

27. Ahmad, Parvez, *op.cit.*, p. 187.

28. Bamzai, P.N.K. *op.cit.*, pp-25-35.

29. Bazaz, *op.cit.*, p. 491

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*

32. Bazaz, Prem Nath, *op.cit.*, p. 491.

33. *Ibid.*

over all the important areas of the state.³⁴ With the Decolonization of Indian sub-continent accompanied by partition³⁵ and conflict between the two succeeding states of India and Pakistan, the problems of the state of Jammu and Kashmir which had close and intimate contacts with both of them increased manifold, needless to say that the status of the state of Jammu and Kashmir was the bone of contention in that conflict.³⁶ Partition was accompanied by several unfortunate circumstances for India in general and Kashmir in particular. There were problems which were associated with any such process of division, for example, difficulties relating to the division of assets, and liabilities, demarcation of boundaries both of the land and the water. Moreover, several administrative difficulties emerged as one political unit had to be bifurcated.³⁷

The first aspect of partition concerned its consequences for individuals, families and society. For individuals, it took the form of identity crises and other psychological problems, for example, fear psychosis and cultural alienation. For families, uprooting, meant loss of their ancestral homes, property and regular jobs and means of income. In the mean time Kashmir did not remain unaffected by the events which were taking place in India following its partition. The division of the country saw a large scale emigration of Hindus from Pakistan and Muslims from India. This emigration had indeed been going on for some months before August 15, 1947, but after that date it was greatly intensified and accompanied by widespread disturbances. As a consequence numbers of refugees sought safety in Kashmir and added to the unrest which already existed.³⁸

The second important aspect of the partition concerned its consequences for economy; it got setback. Partition plan not only aroused the religious sentiments of different communities but also created in its worst form of a perpetual confrontation between India and Pakistan and a perpetual strain on the poor resources of the peoples of the two countries. It left the two countries in such an awkward position, where it became difficult to come out without high risks.³⁹ As the rivers provided the cheapest mode of transportation for the timber of Kashmir forests, the roads running along the banks of these rivers provided cheap and fast transportation of fruits, vegetables, wine, woolen and silk materials, carpets and

34. *Ibid.*

35. 'Partition' the word is so inadequate, partition simply means division, a separation, much than that..... not only friends became enemies, homes became strange places, strange places had to be claimed now as homes. A line was drawn to mark a border and boundaries began to find reflection in people's lives and minds. Identities had suddenly to be redefined. And it is perhaps precisely for this reason that in some ways so many people who see themselves as victims, are complicit in the violence of partition, that there is such relevance to remember.

36. Gupta, Sisir, *Kashmir : A study in India-Pakistan Relationships*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1967, p. 30.

37. Kumar, Jaswinder, *Indo-Pak Relations*, Deep and Deep Publications, New Delhi, p. 18.

38. Ferguson, James, P., *Kashmir, (A Historical Introduction)*, City Book Centre, Srinagar, 2009, p.67.

39. Pampori, Mohd. Sultan, *Kashmir in Chains*, Pampori Publishing House, Srinagar, 1992, p. 173.

pretty products of skilled Kashmiri artists and artisans to Pakistan.⁴⁰ With the accession of Jammu and Kashmir with the Indian Union, all these highways and waterways became entirely useless for the people of the state.⁴¹ The age old economic ties of the people living in the state, particularly on its borders with those living on the other side of the frontiers had been cutoff, thereby shattering the entire economic structure which was so laboriously and diligently built through centuries.⁴² Like the big rivers viz. Jhelum, Chenab and Indus, which flow from or through Kashmir to Pakistan, all these highways connected the state of Jammu and Kashmir with that part of Punjab which had become the part of Pakistan.

After independence, handicrafts of Kashmir suffered badly. To make good the loss sustained by the state and its people by this abrupt dislocation of export and import trade, the government of India constructed a new highway at a cost of three crores of rupees linking Jammu with Pathankot in East Punjab. Thus, instead of the four water ways, three highways and one railway linking the state with the outside world, Kashmir had now one road and it was supposed that this would meet the overall demand of the people. As a matter of fact the National Conference (the dominating political party) leaders in Kashmir have stated in their speeches and statements more than once that the business carried on through the Srinagar-Pathankot road is larger in volume than used to be conducted through all the abandoned highways, waterways and railway put together.⁴³

The question here arises is that could the only Srinagar-Pathankot road be able to make good the damage that has been done to the country by the sudden closure of her nature-given water-ways, expensively-built highways and wisely designed small and single railway? Yet it is also very difficult to see the irreparable loss that the people of the state have suffered by the new arrangements and will continue to suffer until the closed waterways and high-ways and the railway will be re-opened and traffic on them re-started under normal and peaceful condition in the Kashmir valley.⁴⁴

40. Korbelt, Joseph, *Danger in Kashmir*, Vinod Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1992, p. 7.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

42. *Techno-economic survey of J & K*, National Council of Applied Economic Research, New Delhi, 1969, p.14.

43. Bazaz, Prem Nath, *op.cit.*, p. 492.

44. *Ibid.*

STATUS OF RELIGIOUS SHRINES IN EAST PUNJAB (INDIA) AND WEST PUNJAB (PAKISTAN) AFTER PARTITION: 1947-59

Veena Sachdeva*

The partition of Punjab into East Punjab (India) and West Punjab (Pakistan) in 1947 was followed by large scale migrations, communal violence, bloodshed and abduction of women and children. Nearly 14.5 million people crossed borders, out of which, approximately 7.2 million Muslims went to Pakistan and over 7.3 million Hindus and Sikhs moved to India leaving behind their religious shrines. A report submitted to the chief secretary, government of East Punjab (India) by deputy commissioners of all the districts of Punjab reveals that a total of 9,634 Muslim shrines were left in East Punjab (India). These Muslim shrines included mosques, tombs, *takiyas*, *imam baras*, *khanqahs* and *sarais*. It has not been possible to get the official figures of Sikh and Hindu religious shrines left in West Punjab (Pakistan), but from other sources, we know that there were 178 historical *gurdwaras*.¹ Out of these, seven *gurdwaras* were considered most sacred: Nankana Sahib also known as Darbar Sahib or Kartarpur Sahib in Shaikhupura district; Gurdwaras Dera Sahib, Shahid Ganj and Bhai Tara Singh in Lahore, Gurdwara Rori Sahib in Eminabad (Gujranwala), Baira Sahib in Sialkot and Gurdwara Panja Sahib at Hasan Abdal. Other than the *gurdwaras*, there were temples of Arya Samaj, Sanatan Dharm, and Jain Mahasabha etc. A number of shrines possessed landed properties, shops and *jagirs*. What happened to these shrines left in India and Pakistan after the partition is the focus of this paper. It deals with the attitude of the Governments of India and Pakistan towards the maintenance, preservation and proper upkeep of these shrines. It also discusses the agreements signed between both the Governments on the grant of facilities for residence, protection and payment to priests called *pujaris*, *sewadars* and *khadims* posted in the shrines for the performance of religious rituals. The steps taken on the complaints regarding misuse of the shrines, attempts made to get them vacated, grant of permits to pilgrims to visit the shrines and facilities for their stay and safety have also been taken up. The paper is based on the confidential files of Partition Branch recently handed over by Civil Secretariat, Punjab Government to Punjab State Archives,

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1. Letter dated 30 April 1951 by Gopi Chand Bhargava to PM Jawahar Lal Nehru, File No. 1327, *Partition Matters*, Punjab State Archives, Chandigarh, p. 2; Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, however, gives a list of 130 shrines: *Sikh Shrines in West Pakistan*, Karachi, 1962, pp. 61-68.

Chandigarh.

On 19 September 1947, nearly a month after the partition, Indo-Pakistan Agreement was signed between the two governments regarding preservation of religious places in both the countries. It was decided that "places which are regarded as sacred by any community will not be allowed to be occupied by members of any other community and particular care will be taken to preserve such places intact even if they remain empty. The two Governments will communicate with each other and make concrete suggestions".² The first reaction to the occupation and non-maintenance of sacred shrines in East Punjab (India) was expressed by Nawabzada Khurshid Ali Khan, only three and half months after the partition. He expressed his anguish by writing a letter to the commissioner, refugee and rehabilitation department of West Punjab (Pakistan) Government, Lahore stating that he and his brother possessed a big house in Ludhiana known as Sarai Nawab Sahib, the mosque attached to the *sarai* had been demolished and a *gurdwara* has been set up and that the name board of *sarai* has also been changed with a board bearing Khalsa Nirbhai Sarai. He wrote to lodge protest against this "highhandedness" and requested the commissioner to take up the matter with the authorities to restore mosque and put up the original name board on the building.³ Subsequently, the commissioner wrote to Nathu Ram, Chief Liaison Officer, East Punjab (India) Government, Lahore to redress the wrong done stating that it was against the arrangements between the two countries.⁴ After taking appropriate steps, the chief liaison officer wrote to the commissioner that the entire property has been acquired by the custodian of evacuee property, East Punjab Government.⁵ Thus, one can see that the attitude of both governments was very supportive. In fact, when chief secretary to East Punjab Government was informed about this incident, he wrote to deputy commissioners of all the districts that full protection must be afforded to all places of worship especially mosques in towns and villages as they were being put to unauthorised use and had been occupied by refugees for residence. Therefore, all mosques abandoned by Muslims must be cleared and restored to their proper condition.⁶

This supportive attitude of the Government of East Punjab (India) was reciprocated by the chief secretary to Government of West Punjab (Pakistan),

2. *Partition Branch Records* (cited hereafter as *PBR*), Punjab State Archives, Chandigarh: File no.28711/ 99(1958), p. 3.
3. *East Punjab (India) Liaison Agency Records* (cited hereafter as *EPLAR*), Punjab State Archives, Chandigarh: File no XV/17/65 A, p.1. Liaison Agencies were established by both the governments in their respective provinces under a Chief Liaison Officer to help the refugees to recover their relations, movable properties, bank lockers etc. East Punjab Liaison Agency with its headquarters at Lahore was established in September 1947. It worked for more than a year and was withdrawn on 30 November 1948: Kirpal Singh, ed., *Select Documents on Partition of Punjab-1947 India and Pakistan*, Delhi, 1991, pp. xxxii & xxxiv; Satya M. Rai, *Punjab Since Partition*, Delhi, 1986, p. 108.
4. *EPLAR*, File no XV/17/65 A, p. 3.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Lahore, when a request was made on 15 August 1948 by S. Harnam Singh, General Secretary, Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (S.G.P.C), Amritsar. In fact, of all religious organizations, S.G.P.C. was the first to take up the issue of *gurdwaras* with the Indian Government, and the records of the partition branch confirm that it was very consistent in its approach to resolve the issue of the maintenance of *gurdwaras*. It requested chief liaison officer of East Punjab government to make suitable arrangements for the escort of 10 *granthis* who were to go to Nankana Sahib in Pakistan on 17 August 1948 to relieve the *granthis* from there.⁷ The relieved *granthis* were also to be escorted back from Nankana Sahib to Wagah border in Amritsar on the same day.⁸ Since the notice to SSP Lahore was too short to make suitable security arrangements, he wished the programme to be postponed for a few days; subsequently it was fixed for 26 August 1948.⁹ Confidential letters from SSP, Lahore sent to DIG, CID and DSP, Lahore among others show that proper arrangements were made for the escort of 10 *granthis*. An armed guard of one sub-inspector, one head constable and 6 FCs (two with stain guns) deputed with instructions that upper subordinate would carry revolver and another will carry rifles with requisite amount of ammunition and that the sub Inspector will also be responsible for the protection of relieved *granthis* and bring them back from Nankana Sahib to Wagah border.¹⁰

Less than three months later, in November 1948, to celebrate the birthday of Guru Nanak Dev, a party of 50 Sikh pilgrims (*granthis*) asked for permission to enter Pakistan to visit Gurdwara Nankana Sahib (Shaikhupura) for three days from 15 to 17 November 1948. The party was given permission to enter. Ahmad Khan, Deputy High Commissioner for Pakistan in India, sent letters in this regard to the officers in charge of Pakistan Check Post, Wagah and his counterpart Deputy High Commissioner for India in Pakistan.¹¹ It will be worth reproducing below the details of the arrangements made by the Senior Superintendent of Police, Lahore to give an idea of promptness on the part of the authorities of Pakistan. The SSP issued orders to DIG-CID, DSP-Sadar, Reserve Inspector, Traffic Inspector and Chief Liaison Officer, Lahore to make proper arrangements for the escort of the *granthis*. The DSP-Sadar, Khan Muhammad Anwar Khan was given the charge to personally escort the *granthis* to Nankana Sahib and back with two

7. As the birth place of Guru Nanak Dev, the Gurdwara at Nankana Sahib is the most sacred shrine of the Sikhs. It was under the direct control of Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, who used to appoint managers since its formation in 1925. It is interesting to note here that the manager and *sewadars* of Nankana Sahib stayed back at the Gurdwara despite of communal turmoil that followed the partition of India, therefore request to replace them with another group was made in a letter dated 30 April 1951 by Gopi Chand Bhargava to Jawaharlal Nehru, *Ibid.*, p. 14.

8. *EPLAR*, File no. XII/36 G, p. 1.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 9, 11-12.

10. 'Protective Arrangements to Relieve Ten Granthis at Nankana Sahib', Confidential Letters dated 25-8-1948, *ibid.*, p. 13. Information regarding replacement of *sewadars* in March and November 1954 can be seen in *PBR*, File No. 82(1955), pp.1-16.

11. *EPLAR*, File no. XII/12/36 g, p. 21.

armed reserves. The party was to proceed in a convoy from Wagah to Nankana Sahib and back. One armed reserve in a bus (*lorry*) was to be at the head, after which two *Lorries* carrying the *granthis* were to follow, then their luggage *lorry* and again one armed reserve at the tail in a *lorry*. "The whole party was asked to remain together, the convoy on no account broken or public vehicle allowed to filter into the convoy. The convoy was to adhere to speed limits as in force in the respective areas".¹² The reserve inspector was instructed to arrange for the armed reserves to be at Wagah border by 1:30 p.m. on 15 November 1948 and also to arrange sufficient ration and cooking utensils for the reserves as they were to remain at Sheikhpura for a couple of days. It was also made clear that at Nankana Sahib, the Lahore Reserve was not to be used for duty, their responsibility was only to escort the *granthis* to Nankana Sahib and back whereas, the Shaikhupura police was to be responsible for other protective duties. The DSP-Sadar was also asked to contact assistant to DIG of CID to receive any further instructions. Since the *granthis* were to travel in the vehicle maintained by the East Punjab (India) Liaison Agency at Lahore, the DSP-Sadar was instructed to inspect the Sikh transport to see if it was good enough to do the journey without breaking down on the way, this was to ensure an uninterrupted journey. The traffic inspector was instructed to ensure that the convoy was not unnecessarily delayed at road crossings and not broken up through untimely traffic signals.¹³ This file contains a telegraph dated 17 November 1948 sent by Chief Liaison Officer, Lahore to Chief Secretary East Punjab(India) informing that "Nankana Sahib Pilgrims have crossed safely the Wagah border at 14:00 hours".¹⁴

In September 1949, a deputation of S.G.P.C. met minister of rehabilitation with a proposal to send *sewadars* to other six important *gurdwaras* in West Punjab (Pakistan).¹⁵ On 29 July 1951, S.G.P.C. held a convention to consider the question of preservation of all the *gurdwaras* in Pakistan. About 800 representatives of all sects and sections among the Sikhs attended it. The proceedings of this convention were sent to the governor of Punjab on 1 August 1951. A letter was also written to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru who replied that 'in view of the very delicate and strained situation between India and Pakistan, we cannot go very far towards settling any issue between the two countries at present'.¹⁶

The Government of India, meanwhile, forwarded to Pakistan Government on 16 July 1951 points to be discussed in Indo-Pakistan Conference to be held shortly to consider the question of future maintenance of shrines and holy places in India and Pakistan. The points for consideration were:

— Preservation of sanctity of important shrines, particularly shrines of

12. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 21 & 17.

14. *Ibid.*, p.19.

15. The Nirankari Gurdwaras in Rawalpindi were visited by Nirankari pilgrims in 1950, 1952 and 1955: PBR, File No. 28548/41(1955), pp.1-2, 62.

16. PBR, File no. 3093/49(1953), p. 39.

historical significance, situated in areas from which large majority of the community concerned had evacuated to the other country.

- The grant of facilities for residence and protection to *sewadars* or *khadims* or worshippers at such shrines.
- The setting up of a joint commission of representatives of the two governments to supervise the implementation of the agreement to be reached, the commission being given facilities for visiting the shrines and making reports and recommendations to the governments concerned for the proper upkeep of the shrines and other connected matters.¹⁷

A meeting was held in Pakistan in the office of advisor, ministry of refugees and rehabilitation on 4 August 1953. The Indo-Pakistan Agreement on maintenance of places of religious worship was signed; it included three points given above, besides two additional points: the two governments agreed to increase and grant facilities for visit to places of worship on auspicious days in both countries and decided to deal with the properties attached with these shrines separately from the trust properties.¹⁸

To avoid any inconvenience to the pilgrim parties visiting their shrines, it was decided by the two governments in another meeting held in November 1951 to give at least two months time to each government to process the cases and give permission to visit each other's country. Accordingly, the nationals desirous of visiting pilgrim places in West Pakistan were asked to submit applications clearly three months before the actual visit. When the proposal was sent to the Pakistan Government for approval, it suggested increasing the period by half month. The increase in the time was desired as each government was to ascertain the condition of the shrines to be visited by the pilgrim party, for which it had to obtain a report from the local officers which used to take time, before permitting any party to visit the shrine. A press note was issued by the government of India in leading newspapers informing the pilgrims for submitting applications within the given time so that there were no problems later on.¹⁹

As a matter of practice, pilgrim parties visiting India or Pakistan were given collective permits, i.e., a general authorisation for entry in the form of a note to which was attached the list giving the names and certain other particulars of the pilgrims. The collective permit had one disadvantage; it did not enable a proper identification of each pilgrim at the time of entry into and departure from the country to be visited. Cases came to the notice of the government of India in which persons who came to India as pilgrims had remained behind in India and in their places, persons who wished to go to Pakistan and were unable to get permits for permanent resettlement in Pakistan have been substituted for those pilgrims who remained in India. It was felt that lack of proper identification was detrimental to the interests of both India and Pakistan. To obviate this, the pilgrims were

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

18. PBR, File no. 28839/12(1959), p. 11 (c).

19. PBR, File no 3087/89(1952), pp. 1-7.

asked to sign on the permits so that at the border their signatures could be compared but since there was no provision for checking the signature scientifically at the border, this was dropped. The suggestion routed to the Pakistan government for its consideration on 15 March 1952 was that a certificate of identity with a photograph, giving full particulars of pilgrim obtained from district magistrate of their respective districts be obtained and pilgrim to notify the date of the certificate and its serial number to the state government to be sent for obtaining permit. This was done to prevent the misuse of permit regulations of both the countries issued to the pilgrim parties.²⁰

On 15 May 1955, another agreement was signed between the two governments, it was decided that facilities and assistance would be provided to visit these shrines as individual pilgrim or as pilgrim parties, the travel facilities will be liberalized and a revised passport and visa scheme would be worked out. It was also decided that a joint committee would prepare a list of important shrines in India and Pakistan, the question of properties attached to these shrines and income derived would also be taken care of.²¹ But later correspondence between the two governments reveals that meeting of the joint committee did not take place despite of reminders for nearly three years. Meanwhile a list prepared by the government of Punjab regarding the status of Muslim shrines in East Punjab (India) was submitted in April 1957. The figures given in this report reveal that out of 9,634 Muslim shrines, 1,492 were in bad condition. The deputy commissioners of various districts of Punjab who had got compiled these figures admitted that 3,357 shrines had been encroached upon; these were being used by refugees or had been converted into schools, *gurdwaras*, temples and *kirtan darbars*.²²

The maintenance of religious shrines had always been a problem. The partition branch did not have enough money to carry out the maintenance as it had been allocated Rs. 2000 only for the purpose. It was also given to understand that the said amount should be spent only on those shrines which pilgrims from West Punjab (Pakistan) were about to visit.²³

The first meeting of joint committee of India and Pakistan was held on 24 February 1958 for the preparation of the list of Hindu and Sikh shrines in West Pakistan. It addressed the issue of the poor maintenance of the shrines in the absence of sufficient funds and decided that the income from the shrines and the properties attached to these in each country would be pooled in a separate account to utilize for the maintenance and repair of the holy places and make payments to the *pujaris*, *sewadars* and *khadims* posted to look after these shrines.²⁴

It was not easy to refuse any pilgrim party to visit its shrines. The

20. PBR, File no. 1098/77(1952), pp. 1-6.

21. *Ibid.*, p.4.

22. PBR, File no. 29003/95(1957), pp. 1-80, Kw/1-2.

23. PBR, File no. 28674/57(1958), pp. 1-7.

24. PBR, File no. 28839/12(1959), p. 22 (c).

Government officials had to look into so many matters before finally sending the letter of regret to the High Commissioner of any country. To illustrate, a party of 50 Muslim pilgrims from Pakistan wished to visit the shrine of Hazrat Maula Bux at Sarhali, district Amritsar. The under secretary to the government of India, ministry of external affairs, New Delhi, wrote to deputy secretary, government of Punjab, political department, on 29th August 1953 to know whether the Government should agree to the visit and whether they would be able to make necessary arrangements.²⁵ The chief secretary to government of Punjab sent a copy to the deputy commissioner, Amritsar for immediate report on whether the shrine in question was in good condition and whether he had any objection to the visit of Pakistani Muslims to this place. A copy was also sent to deputy inspector general of police, C.I.D., Punjab. The deputy commissioner, Amritsar took some time to reply, he was sent six reminders (memorandums).²⁶ Finally, he replied and informed the chief secretary to the government of Punjab, in a confidential letter, that the shrine was not in a good condition. It had been left incomplete at the time of partition of the country. A part of its roof fell down during rains; its out houses were being used as a Girls Primary School. He added that there was no objection to the visit of Muslim pilgrims from Pakistan on the ground of security but this was probably the first occasion on which a request had been received from Muslim pilgrims to visit this place. He suggested that in these circumstances the visit might be avoided, if possible. He added that in case, "however if it is decided to allow the pilgrimage, the School will be closed for a day or two in advance and the premises got white washed, the pilgrims will also be provided accommodation, food and other usual facilities on payment; security arrangements would also be made".²⁷

The chief secretary of Punjab was aware of the problem of getting Muslim shrines evacuated as these had been occupied by a large number of displaced persons and also converted into *gurdwaras* and temples. There was the problem of providing alternate accommodation to the displaced families. In case, where the alternate accommodation was provided but it could not satisfy the persons, they preferred to resist such eviction as they had established their business. The question of removing *gurdwaras* and temples from the Muslim places of worship was delicate issue as it offered fertile ground to the anti-social and communal elements to exploit fully the situation to their advantage, therefore, the local authorities had always been against the use of force for getting the Muslim religious places cleared of such encroachments rather instructions were given to use persuasive methods.²⁸

The complaints of misuse and ill maintenance of Muslim shrines in East Punjab (India) were lodged by the High Commissioner for Pakistan to Indian

25. PBR, File no. 28718/109(1958), p. 1. (c)

26. *Ibid.*, pp.2(c), 3,10(c).

27. *Ibid.*, p. 11 (c).

28. PBR, File no. 104, dated 15-5-1958, pp. 11-13.

Government from time to time. These related to Jama Masjid at Rohtak which had been occupied by unauthorized occupants²⁹ and a Masjid Kumharan in Jalandhar city, a part of which had been converted into a *gurdwara*.³⁰ Another complaint related to a mosque in village Chak Mehra, tehsil Dasuya in Hoshiarpur district which had been converted into a *gurdwara* by refugees.³¹ A family graveyard at Bagh Sheikhan, *mohalla* Kacha Tibba in Hoshiarpur had been occupied by Puran Singh, a *nihang* in May 1958 who was being supported by Secretary Singh Sabha and President Akali Jatha.³² Eleven graveyards in villages Dhina, Sansarpur, Phulriwala, Garha in Jalandhar district had also been converted into agricultural fields and play grounds.³³

The Indian Government and the chief secretary, government of Punjab was serious to preserve the places of worship belonging to the evacuees and wanted that these places should not be allowed to be trespassed or encroached upon. They wanted to impress upon Muslim citizens who had stayed back in India that the places established and paid for their co-religionists will receive same degree of protection, sympathy and assistance from the state.³⁴ Though, initially, the Government of India was of the view that the graveyards could not be treated at par with Muslim mosques and shrines but then thought that since some sort of sanctity was attached, these graveyards need to be preserved. Subsequently, orders were issued to get the shrines referred above be vacated using force. Since the shrines mentioned above were in the districts of Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur and Rohtak, the deputy commissioners of these districts were asked to take action.³⁵

The deputy commissioner, Jalandhar wanted to avoid taking any action to get mosques in his district cleared, which had been converted into *gurdwaras*. He pointed out that as the government no doubt was aware that in all the states, a large number of abandoned mosques had been converted for use of *gurdwaras* and temples, the case of these two mosques was not different in any way from the rest. He added that recently some mosques were got vacated in Jalandhar city from persons who had occupied them as dwelling places, these were sealed under orders of government and it had been observed that they were not being looked after by anybody with the result that attempts were being made to encroach on these. He added that the vacation of mosques being used as *gurdwaras* or temples was a general question involving the whole state and it was suggested that these two mosques should also be dealt with like others. "Any attempt to have those vacated was likely to result in an agitation which it was advisable to avoid in the

29. PBR, File no. 28719/110(1958), p. 15.

30. *Ibid.*, p.1 (c).

31. PBR, File no. 28718/109(1958), p. 5 (c).

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-13.

33. PBR, File no. 28712/100(1958), p.22c.

34. Letter dated 15-5-1958 put up by C.N.Mangat Rai, CS (Pb.) to Chief Minister for approval: File no. 104, pp. 9-11.

35. PBR, File no. 28719/110(1959), p. 2 (c).

context of the circumstances prevailing in the state".³⁶ But, the government of Punjab seemed to be eager to get these *gurdwaras* vacated despite of the reluctance of deputy commissioner, Jalandhar, who feared agitation and unrest among displaced persons. The note prepared for the deputy secretary to the Government of Punjab says, if one such demand was conceded, all our instructions were bound to lose force, such actions in our part would be contrary to the very spirit of Indo-Pakistan agreement and was likely to have its repercussions in Pakistan. This might even create unhappy and embarrassing situation for the Government of India and "leave us with little reasoning to meet the resistant protest from the diplomatic representatives of Pakistan. In spite of the difficulties which we were experiencing in implementing the said agreement, we cannot on any conceivable ground go back upon the undertaking given by our Government to Pakistan". The chief secretary added that the deputy commissioner, Jalandhar must continue his efforts tactfully and that he would not mind if a little delay occurred in achieving the object.³⁷

At times, doubts were raised by the two governments to consider some places as religious. One such case was of a Dev Samaj religious place left in Lahore which Pakistan government had refused to recognize as religious. The Indian government took up the matter with the Pakistan government and asked it to respect the provisions of the agreement of September 1947 which says that places which are regarded as sacred by any community would be preserved and not be allowed to be occupied by any member of other community.³⁸ In the meanwhile, the government of Pakistan wrote to Indian government to protect a Muslim shrine Darbar Qadria Fazlia in Batala, three letters were written for the protection of this shrine on 4 May 1953, 15 October 1957, and 13 February 1958, but the officials in the government of Punjab were not keen to answer since they were of the opinion that the place was not of religious kind, therefore, need not be protected. But rather than conveying this, and "placing a tool in their hands to hit us back with full force and weakening our case", they decided to wait for the reply of Pakistan government on the issue of Dev Samaj buildings in the hope that if it would agree with the interpretation given by the Indian government, they would clear the building in Batala of all encroachments.³⁹

The promptness shown by both the governments melted out around 1958. This is evident from the correspondence of officials of Punjab government who were asked by the government of Pakistan to take action for the upkeep of certain shrines. A detailed reply by K. Mehra, of partition branch of Punjab government noted that the reasons which weighed with the East Punjab (India) government and prompted us to adopt the negative course in the present case were the general-

36. Letter dated 1-9-1966 from DC Jalandhar to CS (Pb.) : *PBR*, File no. 28712/100(1958), p. 27 (c).

37. *PBR*, File no. 28712/100(1958), p. 20.

38. *PBR*, File no. 28711/ 99(1958), pp. 2-5.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

attitude of indifference and apathy with which the Pakistan government had been treating the subject of shrines. The cases which were referred to them as far back as 1948-49 had not brought forth any fruitful results so far. Even the government of India in spite of all persuasive methods employed by them had not been able to lure the Pakistan government into objective action. Therefore, it was, considered that "we should not display any undue readiness or be over energetic in complying with their wishes".⁴⁰

Nearly a year later, on 12 May 1959, a circular was issued by the custodian of evacuee property, East Punjab (India) after getting approval from Chief Minister and Revenue Minister, Punjab to all the deputy commissioners and assistant custodian cum district rent and managing officers in the state. It was underlined that the question of eviction was reconsidered and had been decided that displaced persons who were using these shrines for residential purposes should not be evicted till alternative accommodation was made available for which state government was taking necessary steps.⁴¹ Thus, one can see that both the governments were keen to preserve the religious shrines left in their respective countries and were very supportive in the first eight years of partition despite of the communal violence which had erupted after the partition. But later realizing that large number of these shrines had been occupied by the evacuees in the absence of suitable accommodation and use of force to get these vacated would create law and order problem, the governments opted to go slow and adopted a wait and watch policy.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

41. *PBR*, File no. 28811/49(1959), p. 1 (c); File No. 104 (1958), p. 10.

BOOK-REVIEW-I

***Thuggee : Banditry and the British in Early Nineteenth Century India,*
by Wagner, Kim A., Primus Books, Delhi, 2014, pp. xxvi + 261, price Rs. 995/-**

The present work is an addition to the debate on the institution of *Thuggee* prevalent in India since ancient times. The author has chosen the colonial era because of the enhanced interest among scholars as well as a systematic response of the British authority in India. He has attempted a case study pertaining to a specific area in north in order to construct his thesis.

Literally the *Thugg* meaning a cheater/robber, is perceived in conventional accounts as 'a fraternity of ritual stranglers' who preyed on travellers along the highways. Their unsuspecting victims were first deceived into joining the *Thuggs* and later at some secluded spot strangled, plundered and buried, supposedly by assuming the status of human sacrifices to the goddess *Kali*. Said to be sanctioned by Hinduism the *Thuggs* supposedly observed a plethora of religious rules; relied on omens, performed rituals and spoke a secret language.

The colonial representation of *Thuggee* stressed that the *Thuggs* were not driven to crime by pragmatic reasons but out of 'sheer lust of killing' and their plunder of the victims was of secondary importance. But the author claims that this representation of *Thuggee* is indeed full of inconsistencies and exaggerations. Moreover there was need to examine response of the administration of the emerging colonial state to banditry and highway robbery, delineating the development of official views of indigenous crime. Also, what exactly was the meaning and implication of the phenomenon of *Thugg* ? Did *Thuggee* constituted a clearly defined, distinct, criminal practice entailing a unique *modus operandi* ? Did the people engaging in *Thuggee* perceived it to be a criminal practice ?

Further, what can be said of the life and concerns of the people involved in *Thuggee*; their religious, ethnic and social background, *kinship* ties, customs and language as well as interaction and cooperation between different gangs—in other words, the patterns of organization and infrastructure of *Thuggee*. Did *Thuggee*, in fact, constitute, or was it a part of an Indian underworld ? Also to assess the mental world of the *Thuggs*, significance of the myths and tales they told, their religious beliefs, sense of honour and their perception of the *Thugg's* alleged association and networks. Besides, the measures taken by the British and that how a type of banditry gradually evolved into the religious stranglers.

The scholar argued that understanding of the topographical and socio-economic background of *Thuggee* is vital. It assumed different forms in different contexts and cannot be studied in toto. There is need to examine the issue of banditry more generally because the area where *Thuggee* was particularly preva-

lent has been associated with banditry. Since the practice emerged in a specific socio-economic and geographic context and was essentially a means of obtaining a livelihood reverted to by all strata of Indian society in certain areas.

It was a highly institutionalised social practice related to the issues of patronage and retainership, identity and legitimacy; and was defined by the appropriation of high status rituals and martial ethos. British administration was aware of the existence of *Thuggee* since 1803 but began to respond only in 1830 onwards. The suppression of *Thuggee* assumed a place of honour within the colonial history of the Raj and that inspite of all the defficiencies of East India Company's administration, its rule in India was after all redeemed by the suppression of barbaric 'Hindu' customs and *Thuggee* in particular.

It also became part of process of demonising various Indian practices : both real and imagined. The authority also perceived that British colonial rule had progressed from a distanced and alienated arm-chair administration with no feeling for the land to a more local system manned by officials on the ground with an intimate knowledge of, and indeed affection for India and its people. But the truth is that early British response originated from the challenge to British structure.

Yet *Thuggee* became one of the most potent images of colonial lore and fiction. the word '*Thugg*' itself found its way into everyday use with somewhat different connotations from that of its original meaning. Frequent references to *Thuggs* in travel literature, including *Janam-Sakhi* genre, bear testament to the popularity and fascination of the subject, often communicating a mixture of repulsion and attraction in the description of the stranglers. Visual imagery also became part of the representation of *Thuggee*.

However, the Nationalist view ascribed the emergence of *Thuggee* to the chaos and instability caused by the expansion of the Company's rule. Even the author is correct in arguing that the *Thuggee* campaign of the 1830's was not only an attempt to put a stop to violent crime but was also prompted by a whole range of other factors.

Thus this 'indepth' examination of the institution of *Thuggee* rejects the Orientalist/Colonial representation. With its close analysis of a specific area it clearly supports the Nationalist perspective and also some of the other recent works of the scholars. The significance of the exercise lies in the fact that more area studies are required for making such generalisations along with the comparison to the pre-colonial scenario of this practice. Yet it remains a fact that despite the British response, the post-colonial India is not free of this tradition; though both its nature and response has been changed.

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BOOK-REVIEW-II

Punjab Reconsidered: History, Culture and Practice,

Edited by Anshu Malhotra, Farina Mir,

Published by Oxford University Press, New Delhi-2012

Pages: 461, Price Rs. 695/- (Hardback)

The book *Punjab Reconsidered (History, Culture and Practice)* is an edited work by two scholars- Anshu Malhotra and Farina Mir. There are twelve contributors in this volume. Almost all the contributors are established scholars/writers. They have in their respective writings exhibited their minute understanding of the concerned subject on which each of them has written. Each article is based on the factual information, as supplied by the primary sources. They have substantiated with sufficient source material their articles and the views given in them. In brief it is worth reading volume not only by the teachers rather the students are advised to go through this volume in order to procure or receive knowledge in detail about the various subjects related to Indian literary culture and language, politics and other related subjects which make Indian History rich and complete. Here, I intend to review each and every article given in this book.

What is *Punjabi*? What are the different notions about Punjab? This volume analysis these ideas; it also explores as well as examines, of course, analytically different aspects that constitute Punjab as a region conceptually in History, Culture and Practice. Let it be added that each essay examines a different Punjabi culture- language- based on literary, religious and those aspects that define a community—rural, urban and middle class. Together, these essays unravel the complex foundations of *Punjabi*.

The present volume too exhibits how the recent history of Punjab, partition, aspirations of state-hood and a large and assertive diaspora has had a discernible impact on the region's scholarships. Departing from conventional studies on Punjab, the present book presents fresh perspectives and new insides into its regional culture. In fact, the present volume contained many articles written by a host of imminent scholars. This volume will interest scholars, students and researchers of history particularly of modern India, as well as sociology and cultural studies. It's contents speak quite high about its authors as well as the articles they have written. The volume is divided into five parts. In the very first part there are two articles, Punjabi poetry from Farid to Farid, by Christopher Shackle and the second, Language, the Nation and Symbolic Capital: The Case of Punjab by Alyssa Ayres. However, there is a chapter –Punjab in History and Historiography, an introduction by Anshu Malhotra and Farina Mir. They have thoroughly explored and examined at length Punjab in History and Historiography. Part II consists of

three lessons—The History of the *Zafar-namah* of Guru Gobind Singh by Louis E. Fenech, An Idea of Religion: Identity, Difference and Comparison in the *Gurbilas* by Anne Murphy, and third article is related to Guru Nanak's Life and Legacy: An Appraisal by Gurinder Singh Mann. Part- III of this volume throws light on the religious cultures, marginal, popular and controversial. These issues have been examined and discussed analytically in four chapters. The first chapter is entitled brotherhood of the pure: the poetics and politics of culture transgression by Harjot Oberoi; another article entitled *Panths* and Piety in the Nineteenth Century: The Gulabdas of Punjab by Anshu Malhotra; Central Centre Genre and Devotion in Punjab Popular Narratives: Rethinking Cultural and Religious Syncretism by Farina Mir is the third article/chapter. Then Brave Converse in the *Arya Samaj*: The Case of Dharam Pal by C.S. Adcock is the fourth article of this section which throws light in particular on *Arya Samaj* and tells minutely/critically about the contribution and character of *Arya Samaj*. Part IV of the volume again consists of three articles/chapters- the first one is on environmental history, Biradari and the making of Pakistani Punjab by David Gilmartin; the second one is entitled, Being Middle Class in Late Colonial Punjab by Markus Daechsel and Translating the Public in Colonial Punjab by William J. Clover is the third one. This article tells in detail about the political, social and economic life of the colonial Punjab. The Part V discusses in three chapters, three different subjects. The first one Bhagat Singh: A Politics of Death and Hope by Simona Sawhney throws light on the significance of the politics of death and also highlight Bhagat Singh's character and contribution and how he is being remembered by the people of the country. In the second article Anna Bigelow discusses Post-Partition Pluralism: Placing Islam in Indian Punjab. Efforts have been made to highlight the significance and place to Islam is being given in the Indian Punjab after the partition. The third article by Tony Ballantyne has written on Migration, Cultural Legibility and the Politics of Identity in the Making of British Sikh Communities. No doubt, the efforts and labour put by the various historians/ scholars cannot be explained in words.

In the Introductory chapter the author highlights certain very important issues such as cross religious, cross caste, cross class culture, etc. The essays in this volume through their careful analysis of various aspects of Punjabi social, cultural, political and religious history, taken collectively suggest that there are indeed worth of these aspects in the life of the people. It is made clear that Punjab neither had a stable region nor a single culture. The perspective presented on *Punjabi* include in their rich people physically present and politically split but geographically contiguous Punjab and those who left its environs long ago yet continue to call themselves Punjabi and or engage in an identity with aspects of its cultures. The very first chapter is based on the rich source material (references). These references are 61 in number and support each and every idea of the two authors who have edited and written this article of introduction. Christopher Shackle's article, Punjabi Sufi Poetry from Farid to Farid, gives detailed information about Sufi sect and its constructions. The writer states the growth of this

movement, illustrates how processes of national legitimacy throw literary historical exclusion that clearly side line the contributions of constituent peoples create the perceived need to carve space for their inclusion. The third article *Zafarnama* of Guru Gobind Singh by Shah Nawaj Firdosi is related to the text's contexts and religious identities, it carries a message to him and its words will be as a blade drawn from its scabbard a letter must be written whose edge is as sharp as a sword's and whose message booms like the thunder cloud. Controversy over its authorship remains, and will most likely do so until the text is finally admired for what it does contribute to Sikh understandings of the Sikh personhood for within its poetry we find expressions of a Sikh identity distinguished from other specific identities within the Punjab and as well a declaration of Sikh sovereignty well in keeping with the claim of the *rahit-nama* and the *Gurbilas* literature. No doubt, *Zafarnama* of Guru Gobind Singh has been given a due honour and place in the writings of the Sikh scholars in particular. The next article on Guru Nanak's life and legacy by Davinder Singh Maan is really an appraisal. In this chapter the author has re-examined Nanak's belief; writes about the founding of Kartarpur, its importance which is also being substantiated by many more scholars such as McLeod, Indu Bhushan Banerjee, G.C. Narang and A.C. Banerjee. Maan thinks that without Guru Nanak the history of the Sikhs cannot be completed.

The sixth chapter - 'Brotherhood of the Pure' by Harjot Oberoi deals with the poetics and politics of cultural transgression. He writes in this chapter about the *Kukas* or *Namdharis*. In fact it is an abridged version of Harjot Oberoi which was published in modern Asian studies on 26th Jan., 1992 and then was reproduced of course with permission by the Cambridge University Press. He writes quite in detail about the *Namdharis*, covers almost all the published works on *Kukas* in this article. The teachings of the *Namdharis*, particularly of Baba Ram Singh, there is one thing that pervades his teachings, it is the opposition of pure and impure. Such a recurrent concern on the part of the *Kukas* may appear to be novel, especially because interpretations of the Sikh movement always emphasized how Sikhism freed itself of ritual concerns, discounting ideas of purity and impurity. Oberoi, in order to construct a comprehensive ideology, the purity of principle was further extended to encompass diet restrictions, a code for dress and several commandments for social behaviour. He writes in detail about the defense of holiness. Study of *Kuka* insurgents and their symbolic universe also suggests some larger conclusions on the nature of empowerment and resistance in colonial India. In the last decade, historians interested in mapping out the tropes of indigenous resistance have had recourse to two distinct strategies. In 1872, when the *Kuka* crowd overtook a collective march from the village Bhaini to the Muslim principality of Malerkotla and en-route began to turn things upside down, we find in their actions evidence of what would be classified as dramatic assertion and resistance. Oberoi has used extensive source material pertaining to *Kuka Lehar* and its contribution.

Anshu Malhotra has contributed the seventh chapter entitled 'Panths and

Piety in the Nineteenth century. The *Gulabdasis* of Punjab have been examined critically in this chapter. Sources and controversies relating to the *Gulabdasis* have been vividly and nicely explained. Distinctions and sameness in Piro's writings has been highlighted and its importance too has been explained. Anshu Malhotra has written about the treatment given by the Muslims to the Sikhs. In brief she writes about Sufism, Hinduism- Vedanta and the Hindu Yoga of medieval Yogis as the sources of this borrowing. The philosophy of the *Gulabdasis* has been very vividly explained. She has highlighted the contribution of Kabir on the one hand and about the *Nath* and *Tantarik* traditions on the other. She very nicely explains the writings of Bulleh Shah too. In the end of the chapter, *Shara: Shared Ethics* has been examined analytically. If anybody wants to have a clear notion about the Sufis and the period of the sixth Sikh Guru, this article is really very useful for the students and scholars of history. She has quoted several original sources like Ganesh Das Badheras' *Char Bagh-i-Punjab*, etc.

Contribution of Farina Mir is equally important. Mir has written on Genre and Devotion in Punjabi Popular Narratives; in it she has discussed rethinking cultural and religious syncretism; Syncretism has been reconsidered and explained at length. The Perso-Islamic Foundation of the *Qissa* Tradition has been examined critically. Amir Khusrau is the best remembered in literary circles. Laila Majnu and Khusrau shrine, in Persian and in the *Masnavi* form has been given that illustrates the Arab and Persian tales. The innovation in Persian and Punjabi *Kisse*; moving beyond the Islamic idiom; presentations of Piety in Late Nineteenth century Punjabi *Kisse* have been very minutely and critically discussed in this article. The beauty and worth of her writing is due to its sources which had been narrated at length. The ninth chapter entitled Brave Converts in the *Arya Samaj* by C.S. Adcock, deals with the case of one Dharam Pal. Environmental History, *biradari* and the making of Pakistani Punjab by David Gilmartin is the tenth chapter and it forms Part IV of this book in which Colonialism: Rural and Urban Culture have been re-examined analytically. In this part of the book middle class in the late colonial Punjab has been estimated by Markus Daechsel. He has given a very clear picture regarding colonial agriculture capitalism. He writes about urbanization and service patronage. The limit of the patronage system has been discussed referring to reformism and its limits. He has also taken up the issue of middle class consumerism. The politics of middle class expression have also been examined. William J. Glover writes in this part of the book one independent chapter on translating the public in colonial Punjab. The last chapter of this part is directly related to Bhagat Singh (A politics of death and hope) by Simona Sawhney. In the very beginning of this article he has given the view of Dr. Bipan Chandra. He latter writes that the only city where the great sacrifice of Bhagat Singh and his comrades created a political movement among the left was Lahore. Similarly he quotes Shiv Kumar Batalvi in these words,

Asan tan joban rute marna
(We will die in the season of youth)

He has given a very beautiful, vivid and true picture of the city of Lahore now and then. Then he explains Bhagat Singh's life from 1907 to 1931. His ideology, efforts and contribution in forming the *Naujawan Bharat Sabha*. Bhagat Singh was impressed by *Ghadar* movement and also by the Patriots of Italy. The author of this chapter also highlights Ajit Singh's and Kartar Singh Sarabha's contributions on the one hand and the activities of the Hindustan Republic Association and Hindustan Socialist Republican Association on the other hand. This chapter too throws ample light on the revolutionary activities of various young men; at the same time it throws light on Marxists' approach and its impact on Bhagat Singh and other revolutionaries as well. Nationalism, socialism and internationalism have been very beautifully and vividly explained in this chapter. Moreover, Mazzini, Garibaldi and Lenin at times appear to be closer to Bhagat Singh, then contemporary Indian thinkers, has also been estimated. In a very systematic and disciplined manner the importance of unification of Germany and Italy; Terrible Wars between Germany and France in the name of trade have been narrated. This chapter is very important one because it throws light on the various important episodes of the Indian National Movement.

Mit Jane Ki Hasrat has been highlighted with a special reference to the *Babbar Akalis'* role on the one hand and the importance of the writings of Bhagat Singh on the other hand. Hope in a word at war is being explained at length. However, the youth of the country being associated with the World War I as well as World War II. This highlights the contribution made by the Punjabi revolutionaries during the last phase of the freedom struggle which had been launched by the Congress in 1885.

Thus the present book- *Punjab Reconsidered (History, Culture and Practice)* is a detailed and authentic work, based on mostly primary sources, is not only a useful history of the country's various aspects rather it gives a very detailed, deep, minute and true picture of the happenings that took place in the country when war of liberation was going on. The authors did not compromise with their own feelings, rather they have given more importance to the source material which they could get in archives and libraries.

The continuity in the various chapters is praise-worthy and it goes to the credit of the two editors Anshu Malhotra and Farina Mir who have succeeded in their mission. One more beauty of the book is, in the end a very brief but meaningful/useful description is being given about each and every contributor. I shall be failing in my duty if I do not mention about Anna Bigelow's writings about the Post Partition Pluralism in which he has discussed the subject placing Islam in Indian Punjab and then the migration, cultural legitimacy and the politics of identity in the making of British Sikh Communities by Tony Ballantyne. He explores the development of Sikh Communities in Britain during the second half of the 20th century. He states that Sikh culture was simultaneously shaped by debates within the community in Britain and engagements with other migrant communities. This essay begins by exploring the profound disjuncture between the protections afforded to

Sikhism as a distinctive religious community under colonial law in India. He talks about *Tat Khalsa*, *Arya Samaj*, *Singh Sabha*, Sikh Reformers, Sikh Life and Practices, etc. etc. Before it, in the fourteenth chapter pluralism, secularism and some other features have been discussed. This chapter also talks of *Hindutav* and other communal sects of the Muslims, Sikhs and also the Christians. Ritual integration has been explained at length. This chapter also deals with Baba Farid, *Ganj-e-Shakkar*. In it narrative exchange has been mentioned. The bibliography given in the end of the book is very useful. The present work is not without certain demerits and shortcomings. The volume is very extensive and lengthy. The editors have not paid much attention to the length of each and every chapter. Moreover, the language of the book is only meant for the teachers/scholars that too of high stature. It may not be very useful to the young students and scholars; rather they are being deprived of the true picture of the various happenings. Moreover, the cost of the book is quite high. It would not have been more than Rs 450/-.

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